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ABSTRACT

Among the indigenous peoples of British Columbia are the Kwakwaka'wakw--at least 12 tribes that speak Kwak'wala, a language of the Kwakiutlian group of the Wakashan language family. This master's thesis reports on the condition of Kwak'wala, outlines a proposal for its revitalization, and describes an attempt to implement the proposal. Chapter 1 examines the history of Kwak'wala-speaking peoples, relationships between speakers of the five Kwak'wala dialects, and factors in the shift from Kwak'wala to English. This chapter also provides details on the extent of Kwak'wala usage and formal instruction in Port Hardy, Alert Bay, Gilford Island, Campbell River, and urban centers such as Victoria. Chapter 2 reviews successful language revival projects (such as Catalan, Hebrew, Navajo, Irish, Maori, and French in Quebec) that demonstrate the importance of five factors: large population of speakers and potential speakers, solidarity through culture or a larger social movement, literacy, immersion environments, and media use of the language. These five essential elements are used in chapter 3 to develop a proposal for reviving Kwak'wala that focuses on a clear vision, the paramount role of the family and community, and the proper role of formal language instruction at various levels of schooling and for adults. Chapter 4 describes efforts to implement the proposal in Alert Bay and community resistance to most approaches that were not school-based. It concludes that Kwak'wala will die in a few decades unless the community radically changes its approach to the language. Contains 61 references and a map of Kwakwaka'wakw settlements. (SV)

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REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT: CAN KWAK'WALA BE REVIVED?

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the subject of reversing language shift, which comes under the rubric of language revival. The particular situation and problems encountered by the endangered Kwak'wala language will be described in the first chapter. Each community in which the language is spoken will be examined and individual language revival efforts will be discussed. The second chapter will look at different methods and procedures used in various language projects throughout the world. In particular, it will examine some language projects which are (or were) in a similar situation to Kwak'wala. It will also come to some conclusions regarding what the research shows are essential elements for successful language projects. The third chapter, the core of the thesis, will apply these findings to a proposal for the revival of Kwak'wala. The proposal will have two main components—that of the community and that of the educational institutions. The roles of each will be discussed, along with the elements for successful language projects arrived at in the previous chapter. Portions of this proposal were actually implemented in the village of Alert Bay. The last chapter will discuss the reaction of this community to the ideas and implementation of this thesis.

This thesis is dedicated to God, the Creator of the Kwak'wala language,
and to all the speakers of Kwak'wala.

CHAPTER I

Report on the State of Kwak'wala

Among the indigenous people of British Columbia are the Kwakwaka'wakw, a group of tribes which speak the same language. There are five dialects of the language, all which are usually spoken of as Kwak'wala. Kwak'wala belongs to the Wakashan language family, which is in turn divided into two groups. The northern Wakashan group is Kwakiutlian, and is comprised of Haisla, spoken in Kitamaat; Heiltsuk, spoken in Bella Bella and Klemtu; Owik'ala, spoken in Rivers Inlet, and Kwak'wala, spoken on northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland. The southern Wakashan group is Nootkan, and is comprised of Nuu Chah Nulth, spoken on the west coast of Vancouver Island; and Nitinat/Pacheenaht, spoken in southwestern Vancouver Island; and Makah, spoken in the northwest corner of Washington State.

The Kwakwaka'wakw belong to at least twelve different tribes. Each tribe usually has ties to one home village, although several tribes may live in one village. Also, some villages are abandoned, but the tribe and its ties to the village remain.

Since the foremost unit of Kwakwaka'wakw identity is now the village, this thesis will look at the state of Kwak'wala from village to village, from community to community.

The People

The Kwakwaka'wakw, or Kwak'wala speakers are the original inhabitants of the Northern Vancouver Island area. Presently, they are divided into two major areas: The northern tip of Vancouver Island, centered in Alert Bay (the northern area); and North-central Vancouver Island, centered in Campbell River (the southern area). The communities in the northern area are Port Hardy, on Vancouver Island; Alert Bay, on Cormorant Island; Kingcome, on the mainland; and Gilford. The communities in the southern area are Cape Mudge, on Quadra Island; Campbell River, across the strait on Vancouver Island; and the southernmost community with Kwak'wala speakers, Comox. There are about 185 kilometers, or 112 miles, of virtually uninhabited country between the northern and southern areas.

It was more than distance which caused these two groups to diverge. The southern group expanded into their present area (formerly inhabited by Salish people) around the time of European contact, so their territory can be perceived by the north as being on the periphery. Also, they were the furthest away from Ft. Rupert, an important trading center near present day Port Hardy. This relegated them to the lowest rank in the Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch system. 'Kwakwaka'wakw" is the term the people from the U'mista Cultural Center in Alert Bay coined as a self-appellation. It means 'Kwak'wala speaking people". Some of the elders dislike the term, preferring "Kwakiutl" or "Kwagiulth" (IPA: Kwaguɬ). "Kwakiutl" was the name of only one of the Kwakwaka'wakw tribes before contact. However, it was on this tribe's land that Ft. Rupert was built, causing people to apply the name "Kwakiutl" to all Kwakwaka'wakw. In the 1870's, the influence of Fort Rupert began to wane (Galois 1994:203), and lately people (especially those who do not belong to the Kwakiutl tribe) use this term less frequently.

The term "Kwakwaka'wakw" was only recently coined, because there is no historic name or even a strong sense of Kwakwaka'wakw identity, though the people are joined by language, culture, and economy. Today, when asked what tribe they belong to, people will generally name one of the tribes listed below, or one of the villages. Sometimes, they refer to themselves as "Kwakiutl". The term "Kwakwaka'wakw" has gained little ground and remains virtually unused by the average person.

At the time of European contact in 1786, the Kwakwaka'wakw formed between 23 and 27 tribes, or family groups allied to one chief. Traditionally, these tribes have not been static but have moved by

merging, warring, and splitting into different territories. Galois (1994:51) calculates that by 1914, the number of tribes had declined to 20, including the following: Kwakiutl (in Tsaxis, or Ft. Rupert); Nimpkish (in 'Yalis, or Alert Bay); Tlawitsis, Mamtagila, and Matilpi (in Qalogwis, or Turnour Island); Mamalilikulla (in Village Island); Tenaktak and Awaetlala (in New Vancouver); Kwisootainuk and Hahuamis (in Gilford); Gwasilla (in Smith Inlet); Nakwoktak (in Blunden Harbour); Quatsino, Koskimo, Nahwitti, and Klaskino (in Quatsino); Gwawaenukw (in Hopetown); Tsawatainuk (in Kingcome); and Lekwiltok tribes—Weewiakay and Weewiakum (in Cape Mudge and Campbell River respectively).

There was always intermarriage between tribes, as well as considerable movement for economic reasons. For example, if the chief of one tribe acquired a reputation for giving lavish potlatches, his tribe would likely increase. New members would join from other tribes to associated with the more prestigious chief and his tribe. Each tribe had its own designated lands, beaches to dig clams, eulichan fishing rights, etc. Originally the tribes were restricted nomads, wandering from winter clamming beds, to spring eulichan (smelt) runs up the rivers, to summer fishing grounds. Sometimes two or more tribes shared the same village site. Tribal boundaries were constantly shifting due to mergers and wars.

The coming of the white man accelerated the pace of change. Conflicts became more bloody because of more effective weapons. Diseases like chicken pox, smallpox and measles decimated the population. Boyd estimates the Kwakwaka'wakw pre-contact population was 19,125, and according to the Department of Indian Affairs census, fell to just 1039 in 1924 (in Galois 1994:39). All villages shrank considerably, and some were abandoned altogether.

The pace of change quickened in 1849 when a Hudson's Bay Company fort, Fort Rupert, was built in Kwak'wala speaking territory. Specifically, it was built on Kwakiutl land, and the Kwakiutl tribe soon became dominant. All the tribes came to Fort Rupert to trade, and conflicts increased because contact between the tribes increased. Finally, the Mamalilikulla tribe came up with the idea that instead of fighting each other, they would fight with potlatches. That is, they would out-give each other in potlatch feasts. Eventually, all tribes obtained rank in the potlatch system, beginning with the Kwakiutl, then Mamalilikulla, Nimpkish, Tlawitsis, and so on down to the Lekwiltok.

In the late 1800's, the Canadian government began the process of making treaties with the indigenous people. Their first dealings were with Plains Indians, who were divided into roving bands. Treaties were not signed with the British Columbian Indians, but they were allotted reserves. Since the government was accustomed to dealing with bands of Indians on the prairies, they insisted on using the same term to deal with the indigenous peoples on the Pacific Coast. The term "band" did not fit that well with the Kwakwaka'wakw, who were used to much more fluid units of self-identity. Thus, groups that were used to living together were broken up; and separate bands were assigned to one village.

A band is governed by a chief and council, who are elected by the members of the Indian community. Often only band members living on the reserve may vote in these elections. Every person who wishes to be regarded as status Indian by the Canadian government must belong to a band. The government funding flows through the band. The band system of government, and even the term "band" are resented by some people. Some would like to return to the potlatch system of government, using hereditary chiefs. There is also the feeling that the word "band" is a foreign imposition.

As of 1997, the primary Kwakwaka'wakw communities are: T'sulquate, Quatsino, Ft. Rupert, Alert Bay, Gilford, Kingcome, Campbell River, and Cape Mudge. The population has now increased to 5517 (Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs 1996; Arqitectura 1993).

The Language

The lack of strong Kwakwaka'wakw identity has stymied efforts to revive the Kwak'wala language. There is little interest in learning a dialect variant from one's own, and there are five dialects. In fact, individual dialect variations have been accentuated in the case of the Lekwiltok. As Wardhaugh

summarizes, "A group that feels intense solidarity may be willing to overcome great linguistic differences in establishing a norm, whereas one that does not have this feeling may be unable to overcome relatively small differences and be unable to agree on a single variety and norm" (1992:31). The latter is the case with the Kwakwaka'wakw.

There are five dialects—Nak'wala, spoken in T'sulquate; T'łat'łasik'wala, spoken by one person in Alert Bay; Gut'sala, spoken by the Quatisino tribes; Kwak'wala, spoken in Alert Bay, Kingcome and Fort Rupert; and Lik'wala, spoken around Campbell River.

By coincidence, the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Rupert on the land belonging to the Kwakiutl tribe, who referred to their speech as Kwak'wala. This tribe quickly became highest on the totem pole because of its proximity to the trading center of Fort Rupert. One man who further enhanced their prestige was Dr. Franz Boas, who spent a lifetime studying the Kwakwaka'wakw people from Fort Rupert at the end of the nineteenth century, and produced two shelves of ethnographic and linguistic materials on them. For these reasons, the terms Kwagiulth or Kwakiutl, and the concomitant Kwak'wala, became the general term for all 12 tribes.

Initially, most people seem not to have minded identifying with the Kwakiutl tribe, because of their high prestige. Now there is a movement away from this identification. For example, the term Kwak'wala is rejected many Kwakwaka'wakw living in Campbell River.

Speakers of Kwak'wala, Nak'wala, and T'łat'łasik'wala dialects usually identify themselves as Kwak'wala speakers, and seem to downplay the dialectical differences. However, the speakers of Gut'sala and, especially, Li'kwala resist the Kwak'wala label, and try to make the most of these differences.

There is some tension between the Kwak'wala and Lik'wala speakers. The northern speakers consider their own area to be "more cultural," or conservative; and the southern speakers call the Kwak'wala speakers "northern driftwood". The Lik'wala probably feel this way for several reasons: They are geographically 185 kilometres (112 miles) removed from the Kwak'wala speakers. They may resent their place at the bottom of the Kwakwaka'wakw hierarchy. There is a cultural center called the Kwagiulth Museum at Cape Mudge, which emphasizes Lekwiltok language and culture; just as the U'mista Cultural Center in Alert Bay emphasizes the language and culture of the people to the north. Clyne notes: "differences between language varieties become divisive when more than one center of the language exists", quoted in Marshall 1994:29, 30). Furthermore, the Lekwiltok have often been excluded from the Kwakwaka'wakw world. For example, Franz Boas's extensive map of Kwakwaka'wakw place names completely ignores the Lekwiltok area. Whatever the reasons, the result has been a bipolarization of Kwak'wala in recent history, the two poles being Alert Bay and Campbell River.

In most communities, Kwak'wala speakers are middle-aged and over. The handful of monolingual Kwak'wala speakers are all over ninety years old.

The most commonly expressed reason for the decline of Kwak'wala by the Kwakwaka'wakw is that they were forbidden to speak it at the St. Michael's residential school in Alert Bay. This institution operated from the 1920's to the 1970's. Most Kwakwaka'wakw children, as well as children from non-Kwak'wala speaking villages to the north, attended and boarded at St. Michael's.

The bigger picture shows many reasons for the decline. Kwak'wala usage declined in lock step with the Kwakwaka'wakw culture. Joshua Fishman argues, "The destruction of languages is an abstraction which is concretely mirrored in the concomitant destruction of intimacy, family and community, via national and international involvements and intrusion, the destruction of the local life, [the destruction] of the weak by the strong" (1991:4). The bigger picture shows Kwak'wala speakers being attacked on many fronts by an intruding people speaking English. Basically, the Kwakwaka'wakw were colonized and marginalized by the dominant English-speaking culture, and the Kwak'wala language suffered in prestige by its association with the disadvantaged Kwakwaka'wakw culture. English began to

be perceived as the best avenue of social mobility and the only avenue to the modern world. The Kwakwaka'wakw who most resembled white people were the ones who were rewarded economically. The Kwakwaka'wakw were faced by a cruel dilemma described by Fishman: either to remain loyal to their traditions and language and to remain socially disadvantaged (consigning their own children to such disadvantage as well); or to abandon their distinctive practices, traditions, and language, and thereby to improve their own and their children's lots in life via cultural and linguistic suicide (1991b:60).

What followed was a shift toward English education and a movement to English-speaking communities. Shambhu Lal Doshi, speaking of the Bhils in India, makes a statement which could apply to the Kwakwaka'wakw: "the spread and consequent prevalence of education and urbanization...paved the way for the assimilation of the tribe" (quoted in Pandharipande 1992:272). The geographical separation which protected Kwak'wala in pre-contact times proved no match for radio and television which brought English into every Kwakwaka'wakw living room.

But the shift to English has not brought with it the material benefits it promised. Fishman notes that shifting away from one's native tongue (translinguification) brings its own problems and exacts a steep price. Assimilating populations have serious medical problems, psychological problems, and social problems such as crime and violence (1991:60). These problems are very much a part of the modern Kwakwaka'wakw.

A comparison of the villages of Alert Bay and Sointula (on neighboring Malcolm Island) highlights the problems faced by Kwakwaka'wakw communities. Although both have roughly the same population, Alert Bay has a hospital and two doctors. Sointula has a doctor, but he has to go off island to find work. Sointula has one policeman, Alert Bay has four.

Today, most Kwakwaka'wakw live in cities—Victoria, Vancouver, Nanaimo, and Campell River. In these cities there is even less opportunity to speak Kwak'wala than in the villages. In the cities, English continues to be the language of business and education, without even the token amount of Kwak'wala present in the villages. In order to "get ahead" everywhere—particularly in the cities—Kwak'wala is perceived as less useful than English. As long as this situation persists, where English is the de facto prestige language, the current state of Kwak'wala will continue to decline.

The shift from Kwak'wala to English began in the early 1900's. Welcoming Boas to Fort Rupert in 1930, his Kwak'wala-speaking assistant George Hunt wrote: "I dont know weather you will find any one of these People to talk the old fashean language, for the most of them, one word for every thing instead of using the different word for the different way of answer. one thing I know that lost about two third of their language for there lots of the Indians comes and ask me the meaning of the words" [*sic*] (Jacknis 1991:224). Pat Alfred believes Hunt was not referring to vernacular Kwak'wala, but to the ancient, formal Kwak'wala used in the potlatches (personal communication).

The end result of the interaction of these factors was a seemingly abrupt period of mother-tongue shift which took place in the 1940's. An indication of the language's altered state today is that many of the middle-aged speakers are self-conscious of their ability to speak Kwak'wala. One man in his 60's rued that he only spoke "a pidgin Kwak'wala". Dressler notes, "Languages that are in the last stages of use in a community undergo interesting alterations in their pronunciation and grammar systems, in some respects reminiscent of pidginization" (quoted in Fasold 1984:214). There is also a one-sided pattern of borrowing: Kwak'wala forms are rarely used when a person is speaking English, but English words are used freely in Kwak'wala. The handful of bilingual parents are passing on only English to their children. These are all signs of the demise of Kwak'wala as a living language.

The occasions when Kwak'wala is most frequently used include public speaking and singing. This occurs most commonly at potlatches, funerals and church services.

The Kwakwaka'wakw are in the midst of a profound social change, which includes the shift from Kwak'wala to English. The rest of this chapter is a summary of the shift away from Kwak'wala in the

various Kwakwaka'wakw communities and the efforts that have been made to reverse the decline of Kwak'wala.

Port Hardy

Port Hardy, population 5000, is the largest town in the North Island area. There are three reserves surrounding the town: T'sulquate, Fort Rupert, and Quatsino. These are sometimes referred to as the Tri-Bands. Dawson's 1992 survey indicated there were 38 Kwak'wala speakers in the Tri-Bands.

Kwak'wala is taught in three elementary schools in Port Hardy which belong to the North Island school district. A total of 210 students from the surrounding reserves—T'sulquate, Quatsino, and Fort Rupert—participate. The program is based on the series by University of British Columbia linguist Jay Powell and the U'mista Cultural Center in Alert Bay.

T'sulquate, a reserve immediately adjacent to Pt. Hardy, has population of 374 (Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs:1996). Of the three bands, it is where Kwak'wala is most vigorously spoken. The people from T'sulquate are notably enthusiastic about singing in Kwak'wala.

Fasold notes "People who live in urban, industrial, or commercial centers, if they speak a small-group language, are more likely than others to shift to a language of wider currency" (1984:241). But T'sulquate, although it is located in the commercial center of Port Hardy, has preserved Kwak'wala better than the other two bands. This has happened because its people—the Gwasilla tribe from Smith's Inlet and the Nakwoktak from Blunden Harbour—were moved from their original home waters to the north in the 1960's. So until the 1960's the people were isolated. Fasold confirms that "[p]eople who live in isolated geographical region have a better chance of maintaining a minority language" (1984:241). T'sulquate is also known for its poverty and social problems. It may be that these factors have inhibited assimilation to the dominant language. Padharipande notes the greater degree of assimilation of the speech community with the dominant culture, the higher degree of shift of the tribal language to the dominant language (1992:260).

In addition to the three elementary schools in Port Hardy, there is a band school in T'sulquate called Gwa'salanakwasda'xw in which Kwak'wala is taught in varying amounts (usually half an hour daily) to elementary school students.

The village of Quatsino, population 214 (Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs:1996), is composed of four tribes from the west coast of Vancouver island—Quatsino, Nahwitti, Koskimo, and Klaskino. They were also recently relocated near Coal Harbour but have not felt the wrenching sense of dislocation that the Gwasilla-Nakwoktak have. It is likely Quatsino that has the youngest speakers. There is one family that speaks Kwak'wala to their children. The youngest, who are in their early twenties, are fluent. Even outside of this family pocket, Kwak'wala is spoken fairly vigorously by people in their 40's.

Ft. Rupert had the dubious privilege of hosting the original fort in Kwakwaka'wakw territory, built in 1849. Traders, coal miners, and prospectors on the way to the gold rush all passed through Ft. Rupert. Codere points out, "the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl were renowned as middlemen and interpreters" (quoted in Galois 1994:455-56). By the late 1870's, Fort Rupert was eclipsed by Alert Bay as the center of north Vancouver Island.

The population of Fort Rupert, which stands at 279 (Minister of Aboriginal Affairs 1996), is not very vigorous in their use of Kwak'wala. There are some fifty year olds who speak their ancestral language, but not unless it is required of them.

Alert Bay

Alert Bay, on tiny Cormorant Island, is a community of 1300 people, most of whom belong to the Nimpkish Band. Dawson lists 110 Kwak'wala speakers belonging to the Nimpkish Band in 1992.

Cormorant Island was the territory of the Nimpkish tribe, whose main winter village was on the Nimpkish River, just across the Johnstone Strait from Alert Bay. In addition to the Nimpkish, the Tlawatsis, Mamtagila, and Kwakiutl tribes used Cormorant Island for gathering food, harvesting cedar, salmon fishing, and winter dances (Galois 1994).

In 1870 two white entrepreneurs, Smith and Huson, began a salmon saltery on Cormorant Island (Jonaitas 1991:39). They enjoyed the benefit of a very safe bay, good fishing, and a location on the inside passage from Victoria to Alaska. However, they lacked a permanent supply of laborers. So they persuaded Reverend Hall to move his newly founded Anglican mission from Ft. Rupert to Alert Bay. Hall moved, and shortly thereafter the Nimpkish people relocated to Cormorant Island. They were attracted to the mission school and church, but continue to feel a close affinity to the Nimpkish River.

A small section of Cormorant Island is called the Whe la la U, which means "everyone is welcome". This is a parcel of land on which 189 people originally from the outlying islands reside. Until the 1960's, outlying settlements served by Alert Bay included: Village Island (Mamalilikulla tribe); Turnour Island, or Qalogwis (Tlawatsis and Mamtagila tribes); and New Vancouver (Tenaktak tribe). All the residents of Qalogwis, New Vancouver, and Mamalilakula moved to the Whe la la U in Alert Bay or to other cities in the 1960's, but still do their food gathering in their home areas. Most of the people in the Whe la la U today are from Qalogwis. The government thought it was too expensive to maintain the outlying villages, and the villagers wanted to be closer to schools for their children. Now, there is a certain nostalgia for these villages, and there are steps being taken to repopulate them—especially New Vancouver. For their part, many Nimpkish resent the people from the Whe la la U, who they feel have taken their land.

Since Alert Bay is such a sheltered harbor, it attracted white fishermen and businessmen. By the early 1880's, it had surpassed Ft. Rupert as the center of the North Island. The island population was, and still is, divided into two sections—white and Indian. Since the island is only four miles long, this living arrangement resulted in a lot of contact and subsequent intermarriage. The result was that, by the 1950's Kwak'wala was declining in usage. Subsequently, the demographics of the island have changed. It has ceased to be the center it once was. Port Hardy has eclipsed Alert Bay as the commercial hub of the north Vancouver Island area. Non-Kwakwaka'wakw have left Alert Bay as the economy declined, and the indigenous population has increased. The result has been that though the number of people on the island has remained stable or increased slightly; the population of 1300 is now 75% Kwakwaka'wakw. 714 live on the Nimpkish reserve (Minister of Aboriginal Affairs 1996).

Nevertheless, the use of Kwak'wala has remained low. Most of the good speakers are in their 70's. There is one monolingual speaker in her 90's, and a handful of people in their 40's who speak Kwak'wala.

There are very few people who are originally from the Nimpkish tribe. Most Nimpkish band members joined from other bands when Alert Bay was in its economic heyday. These "new" members generally speak Kwak'wala better than the original Nimpkish families.

Alert Bay is home to the U'mista Cultural Center. It was the first of the two cultural centers in Kwakwaka'wakw territory. The center consists of a museum and a language institute, among other functions. A series of 13 books, 17 language tapes, and alphabet sheets were prepared at the U'mista in 1981 with the assistance of Jay Powell. These Kwak'wala materials are designed for young children. The U'mista also offers Kwak'wala classes to adults throughout the year. The center is also working on a dictionary with over 27,000 entries, with the help of Neville Lincoln, a linguist from Simon Fraser University. The U'mista may be a key to reviving Kwak'wala.

Although the state of Kwak'wala in Alert Bay is not good at the present, it may be the place to reverse the language decline. It is the largest Kwakwaka'wakw community. Ethnic Kwakwaka'wakw comprise the majority of the population. The fact that Alert Bay is on a small island gives the community

greater potential to shut out English influence. There is a large cultural institution—the U'mista, and Alert Bay takes pride in its position as the cultural center for Kwakwaka'wakw territory. Its motto is "Alert Bay, Village of Culture", and there is a lot of talk about the importance of language in culture.

The Nimpkish Band has a Kwak'wala nursery program. Kwak'wala is taught for half an hour daily in the band's elementary school, the T'łisalagi'lakw School Some of the Kwak'wala resources available at the school include: a booklet of animals, an alphabet booklet, a Kwak'wala counting book, a weather book, a book about parts of the head, and an "I am" book (Dawson 1992). Kwak'wala is also taught to grades eight and nine for an hour in the secondary school across the strait in Port McNeill, where the older children are ferried every weekday. All these factors suggest that Kwak'wala may have the potential to turn the corner and increase in speakers in Alert Bay.

Gilford Island Tribes

The Gwawaenuk, Hahuamis, Kwiksootainuk, and Tsawatainuk are associated with Watson Island, Wakeman Sound, Gilford Island, and Kingcome Inlet respectively. All have a common identity, both geographically and ethnographically. They are collectively referred to as the "Musgamagw", or "four tribes". Rohner writes that they formed "a cluster of loosely knit, informally related neighboring tribes who interacted more often than with other tribes" (1977:201). Today these tribes are associated with the villages of Kingcome, Gilford, and Hopetown.

Kingcome or Gwayee is a village of 129 people of the Tsawatainuk (Arqitectura:1993) on the Kingcome River. It is the most isolated Kwakwaka'wakw community, and the only one on the British Columbia mainland. Despite its isolation, Kwak'wala has not fared well there. This may be because of the early presence of a church and school in the community. In February 1986, a 99-year-old monolingual elder passed away. This woman was the ancestor of a large percentage of the tribe. Her presence may have contributed some to the retention of Kwak'wala in Gwayee, but this influence is now gone. There are still people in this village in their 50's who speak Kwak'wala, and many younger ones who understand it.

Gilford is a very large island with a Kwakwaka'wakw community of under twelve people from the Kwiksootainuk and Hahuamis tribes. The residents' primary occupation is clamming. There is only one elder—the chief—but most of the adults understand Kwak'wala.

Hopetown, which belongs to the Gwawaenuk, has only one permanent resident, a Kwak'wala speaker. Hopetown's population has decreased to the point of being negligible, but there are still many people who claim to be from there. Although it is more a state of mind than a village, it deserves mention because of its perceived importance.

Campbell River

The above villages are all in traditional Kwakwaka'wakw territory. However, around the time of European contact, the people who originally lived in the area around the Nimpkish and Salmon rivers started moving to the south, into traditional Salish territory. Part of the reason for their movement may be because the Pentlatch people directly to the south became extinct, or were absorbed into the Comox, a Salish tribe, around this time. Boas documented the last Pentlatch speakers in 1886 (1958:318). The Kwakwaka'wakw also obtained firearms before their Salish neighbors to the south did, by trading with the West Coast people who traded with the Spanish. The Kwakwaka'wakw 's superior firepower was also a factor in the recent southern expansion.

This move resulted in the linguistic and geographical separation between the Kwakwaka'wakw in the north, who speak Kwak'wala, and those in the south, who speak Lik'wala (the dialect of the Lekwiltok tribes who moved into the Campbell River area). Now there are two centers in

Kwakwaka'wakw territory—Campbell River and Alert Bay; and there are about 185 km (112 miles) between the southernmost Kwak'wala settlement, and the northernmost Lik'wala settlement.

There are two main Kwakwaka'wakw settlements in the southern area: Campbell River, next to a city of 20,000 by the same name; and Cape Mudge, just across the strait from Campbell River, on Quadra Island.

Cape Mudge is populated by 314 members of the Weewiakay tribe (Minster of Aboriginal Affairs:1996). The village has few Lik'wala speakers, and those who exist disagree with the Kwak'wala speakers with regard to orthography. The community is home to the Kwagiulth Museum, which could be used as a vehicle for the revival of the ancestral language.

The Campbell River reserve is home to 176 members of the Weewiakum tribe (Minister of Aboriginal Affairs 1996). As it is near a large urban center, there are few Kwak'wala speakers.

As is the case in Port Hardy, the school district is supporting the idea of Kwak'wala revival. There has been a textbook on Kwak'wala and Lik'wala devised in cooperation with the Campbell River School district. In the school district's two secondary schools, and in three primary schools, students are taught Kwak'wala and Li'kwala. Some of the teachers have been trained to use an Amerindian subset of the International Phonetic Alphabet through the Native Indian Language Diploma Program through the University of Victoria. Other teachers have had various on-the-job training courses. A linguist, Peter Wilson, has worked on a dictionary, on computer games in Kwak'wala, and in teacher formation, including the preparation of a text book *Teaching Kwaḵ'wala as a Second Language* (Hebert 1984:42).

For five years the Lekwiltok have been trying to develop materials in Lik'wala. They are trying to distance themselves from Kwak'wala and the orthography devised by Jay Powell and the U'mista. The students are taught using 48 symbols drawn from the International Phonetic Alphabet, as opposed to the 43 symbols of the U'mista orthography.

Comox, to the south of Campbell River, is a community with 103 people (Minister of Aboriginal Affairs 1996) of both Salish and Kwakwaka'wakw stock. It is located adjacent to the non-Kwakwaka'wakw communities of Comox and Courtney, which have a population of around 30,000. In living memory, there has been a lot of intermarriage between the Kwakwaka'wakw and the original Comox, and some of the Comox people now consider themselves Kwakwaka'wakw. There has been a concomitant shift first to Kwak'wala, then an even more pronounced and more recent shift to English. In 1987, the Summer Institute of Linguistics found there were only a few elderly speakers of Vancouver Island Comox left (Grimes 1988:10). Kwak'wala in Comox is likely in a similar position. The prospects for any ancestral language to gain a strong footing in Comox appear to be remote.

Other Cities

It is common to talk about the Kwakwaka'wakw in their traditional territory, as has been done above. The present reality, however, is not so simple. Over one half of the ethnic Kwakwaka'wakw population now live in cities south of their home area (Minister of Aboriginal Affairs 1996). Although the urban population represents the larger half of the Kwakwaka'wakw, the cities provide the fewest opportunities and reasons to speak Kwak'wala. In the villages, the primary reason to still use Kwak'wala is to give speeches at potlatches or funerals. In the urban centers, even this reason is non-existent, because the potlatches and funerals are held in the villages.

The cities where most Kwakwaka'wakw live are Victoria (population 250,000); Vancouver (population 1.3 million); Nanaimo (population 60,000); and Campbell River (population 20,000). Kwakwaka'wakw make up a tiny proportion of the population in these cities. However, in certain inner city areas, indigenous people (of whom a minority are Kwakwaka'wakw) make up a large percentage of the school age children.

In Victoria, from 1979 to 1982, Kwak'wala classes were taught in a high school with a large indigenous population. When the decision was made to move the language program to two elementary schools in 1983, no students signed up and the language program was discontinued (Hebert 1984:31). Victoria has more Kwakwaka'wakw than any other city, yet there were none among them interested enough to attend classes. These events underscore the fact that for Kwak'wala to survive, there needs to be a purpose for speaking it, and in the cities, no such purpose exists.

Prospects for Revival

Kwak'wala has been experiencing a decline since contact with Europeans. For the first century and a half, the number of speakers declined by 95% due to introduced diseases and warfare. The numerical decline of the Kwakwaka'wakw was halted around 1930, but the decline of the language continued. After 1930, the Kwakwaka'wakw society began to shift to English, and by the 1940's, most children were no longer learning Kwak'wala in their homes.

The current numbers of Kwak'wala speakers are very low. In 1977, SIL found 1000 Kwak'wala speakers. By 1981, the census counted 975 Wakashan speakers, of whom Kwak'wala speakers are only a part (Grimes 1988:12). In 1991, Statistics Canada counted 485 Wakashan speakers, (Aboriginal Peoples Survey 1991:226). In 1992, Flora Dawson did a comprehensive survey of all Kwak'wala speakers (excluding the Campbell River and Comox area). She counted only 228 speakers (Planning Report, 1992). Today there are likely around 200 Kwak'wala speakers which account for less than 4% of the Kwakwaka'wakw population. The clock is ticking for Kwak'wala, and something must be done soon or the language will become extinct, and the bond between the Kwakwaka'wakw and Kwak'wala will be broken.

Recently there has been a revived pride and interest in the language. There is the frequently expressed perception that Kwak'wala can be revived by intellectual and educational means. However, the reality in the Kwakwaka'wakw communities seems to be the reverse. That is, the more intelligent and well educated a person is, the less likely he or she is to speak Kwak'wala. Kwak'wala is spoken most fluently and most frequently by the problem drinkers and by the people who have done very poorly in school. The youngest Kwak'wala speakers often are plagued with alcoholism and social problems, and some are known to speak Kwak'wala only when intoxicated.

It is difficult to say exactly why this is the case, but there may be several reasons. Maybe some of these Kwak'wala speakers were not able to cope with the rapid erosion of their culture and language, and took to drinking as a coping mechanism. Maybe the ones who now are more comfortable with English were able to rapidly adapt to the incursion of the dominant English-speaking culture. Whatever the reasons, this phenomenon does not bode well for the future of Kwak'wala.

The Kwakwaka'wakw perceive they would be better off if they were able to hold on to Kwak'wala. This may be directly linked to the perception of cultural endangerment (Marshall 1994:20). Kwak'wala has become a rallying point of cultural survival. Dawson echoes a sentiment frequently expressed: "We can have our dancing and singing for awhile but without our language our culture is DEAD"(1992d). Fishman would agree with Dawson, noting "that most cultures reveal the 'domino principle' in operation and when any of their main props, such as language, are lost, most other props are seriously weakened and are far more likely to be altered and lost as well" (1991:17). Smolicz adds that when a 'core value' language such as Kwak'wala vanishes, the culture is reduced to fragments (1992:292).

There is also the perception that English cannot adequately convey important concepts and nuances in Kwakwaka'wakw culture. Fishman notes that "no language but the one that has been most historically and intimately associated with a given culture is as well able to express the artifacts and

concerns of that culture" (1991:21). Kwak'wala is regarded as a symbol of the Kwakwaka'wakw and an integral part of the culture, and not merely as a tool that can be replaced by English.

When people realize that their culture and language about to disappear, there is often a flurry of effort to reverse the process. In Kwakwaka'wakw territory, this has manifested itself in the various Kwak'wala language programs developed in schools throughout Vancouver Island. However, despite the renewed interest, the decline of Kwak'wala has continued. The Kwak'wala programs in the schools have not succeeded in getting the children to speak Kwak'wala with each other.

Because of the interest in re-introducing Kwak'wala, chapter II will look at various language projects in other languages. Lessons from these projects will be applied in a chapter III, which will outline a proposal for reviving Kwak'wala. Chapter IV will comment on how the community of Alert Bay has responded to the ideas proposed in this thesis.

CHAPTER II

Language Projects

Languages are part of the societies in which they are spoken. Most people do not deeply ponder the language they speak—they see it merely as a communication tool with other members of their society. There are occasions, though, when people become very concerned with the issue of language. Often this occurs when there is the perception that the language is in danger of becoming extinct. Sometimes governments or other organizations deliberately try to influence the language(s) spoken.

There are various reasons and ways to formally try to influence a language. Governments often want their people to speak a language for purposes of control, education, economic advancement, etc. They may undertake language projects to persuade people to speak a certain language.

Ethnic groups have varying attitudes toward the language(s) they speak. Languages are spoken for many different reasons. Obviously, communication is a primary reason, but there are others. One reason for speaking a language is to show a person belongs to a culture. Many feel that language and nationality are inseparable. Dr. Eduardo Seda-Bonilla of the University of Puerto Rico has stated that language is the umbilical cord to culture (quoted in Spencer 1987:45). Thus it is only natural that a people group should cling to and cherish their language.

However, people sometimes do not cling to their language, but rather give it up freely, usually for economic reasons. In Canada, this has been the case with Spanish-speaking immigrants and with Babine-speaking indigenous people. Peter Trudgill and G. A. Tzavaras' study found a similar situation with Albanians in Greece (quoted in Bentahila and Davies 1992). Bentahila and Davies describe how Berber parents actively encouraged children to use Arabic in preference to Berber, with remarks such as "Berber won't help you to earn your daily bread." Other Berbers commented that their language could only be used by a limited group of people, while Arabic "gives an opening to the outside world" and "allows communication with everyone" (1992:199, 201). Bentahila and Davies note that the Berbers "appear to look upon languages as being rather like clothes, things for which one may feel a certain affection, but which are to be maintained only as long as they are of use" (1992:204). The Jews in Morocco appear to have similar attitudes, as supported by comments such as "whether I speak Arabic, French, or English does not affect my identity" (Bentahila and Davies 1992:298). Mark Karan reports similar attitudes in the Central African Republic (personal communication). Pandharipande reports speech communities in India who are not concerned about losing their language, because they feel they can preserve their cultural identity through their traditional rituals, dress patterns, food habits and their "unique values" (1992:161). He goes on to conclude that the higher the prestige of the language, the higher the degree of maintenance (1991:263). Thus in some speech communities, languages are regarded only as tools, which may be discarded or updated.

Spoken languages, like living things, are constantly changing. Some of the changes occur in the area of phonology (how words are pronounced), or in syntax (how sentences are formed). Others changes come in the form of borrowing from other languages. Most of the time, speakers are not aware of the changes in their language, because they occur so gradually. When change occurs at such a rapid pace that the speakers of a language notice it, it often causes concern in the speakers. Rapid change often occurs when there is extensive bilingualism, which can lead to one language being lost altogether.

Although there are many bilingual speech communities in the world, "maintained group bilingualism is unusual" (Paulston 1992:70). Frequently, the majority of the community is bilingual in a minority language as well as a language of wider communication. This situation is particularly unstable. Often the children in this speech community begin to learn only the language of wider communication.

When this occurs, the minority language begins to die. This often causes concern among the members of the community and sparks a variety of language projects.

Language death, or loss, frequently occurs when society is in transition. It is often said that when a language dies, a world dies. But the converse is surely equally true: "When a world dies, a language dies" (Schnukal 1989:41). A sense of the language and/or society being endangered will often lead to calls for preserving the language (Marshall 1994:20). The repression and/or loss of an ancestral language can be quite painful, because the emotional tie to it is usually quite strong. Wardhaugh notes, "...a demand for 'language rights' is often one of the first demands made by a discontented minority almost anywhere in the world" (1986:346). The main goal of minority movements is usually the improvement or their lot, or their children's lot in life. If language revival is perceived to run contrary to this goal, it will probably not succeed.

Language and culture often change together. The forces of change are very powerful. The most successful language projects have been the ones which have worked with these forces of change, rather than against them. Linguist Ralph Fasold likens language shift to a fast-flowing river, and says of those who would try to change the trend: "If they decide to row upstream, the river is so swift that the boat will go downstream anyway and a lot of effort will be wasted in the meantime" (1984:286).

However, the situation for minority languages is not always bleak, and the impact of language projects is not always negligible. This chapter will look at various successful language projects throughout the world. Most of the languages in question are smaller ones.

How do you define a successful language project? One definition is numerical. That is, a project is successful if it results in more speakers of the language. This can happen when new speakers are born or persuaded to shift from their former languages (Marshall 1994:25). Another definition has to do with what Fishman terms "domains of use" (1991:44). Domains are defined as areas in which the language is used, such as home, work, religion, mechanics, government, and education. When a speech community is multilingual, one language may be used in some domains (for example, home and religion); and another language in others (for example, education and government). In these situations, a successful language project may be one that succeeds in expanding the domains of a language. For example, a successful project may be instrumental in causing a minority language that was formerly only used at home to become the language of education and/or government. Some language projects have succeeded in reversing the trend of borrowing words from a second language, having the effect of purifying the first language. There is a correlation between domains and number of speakers. Sometimes the number of speakers of a language will increase because the domains or vocabulary increases. For example, English's large scientific vocabulary has made it an attractive language for scientists all over the world to learn. Likewise, a language with few domains of use may have difficulty in attracting speakers. Successful language projects result in what is called "language spread"—the language spreads to new speakers and new domains of use.

Time frames are another matter in evaluating language projects. Success is best defined in the short term. This is because, if the project is attempting to change a trend or reverse language shift, success is more likely in the short term than in the long term. If the project is fighting the flow of societal change, the odds of winning are very poor in the long run.

This chapter will examine some languages that have benefited from language projects. Some are in a similar situation to, and compatible with Kwak'wala. Five features of successful language projects will be discussed, especially the features relevant to Kwak'wala. These are population, solidarity, immersion, media, and literacy.

Population

The larger the number of speakers of a language, the more likely the speakers will feel good about their language, and the more likely that language will spread. This is because large language projects are usually moving with the forces of social change. The fewer speakers a language has, the more likely the speakers will feel poorly about their language, and the more likely that language is to shrink. Thus minority language projects often attempt to move against the forces of social change. The only truly secure languages have speakers which number in the millions.

One reason why large languages tend to grow larger is that they come to be spoken as second languages by people from more than one society, or language group. This section will examine some languages and language projects which have been very successful because, either by planning or by chance, they have become languages which others want to learn. Two languages that illustrate the importance of large numbers are Catalán and Hebrew.

Catalán

A good example of a successful large language revival project is Catalán, which Grimes states is spoken by 8,827,300 people (1988:387), most of whom live in northeastern Spain in an area centered in Barcelona. Catalán is unique in that it is not exclusively the language of one ethnic group but is the language of a territory. The history of Catalunya (the Catalán area) included large populations from a variety of ethnic groups—Romans, Visigoths, French, Spanish, Italians, and Jews (Paulston 1987:52).

In 1716 Philip V forbade the use of Catalán (Paulston 1987:49). The result of this repression was that by the end of the 19th century, Catalán was a dying language, spoken monolingually only in the villages, and giving way to Spanish even in the center, Barcelona. But in the early twentieth century a group of intellectuals and poets succeeded in reviving the language in conjunction with a movement to promote Catalán nationalism (Wardhaugh 1986:353). After the nationalist movement failed in 1923, Catalán was suppressed for many years. In 1939, Generalisimo Franco banned Catalán from any kind of public use in the street, in schools, in the mass media, in the administration, in the law courts, in cultural production, in social and economic circles, etc. (Alemany 1992:2).

However, there were so many Catalán speakers that even a brutal totalitarian regime could not effectively suppress their language. The Cataláns were not overcome by the Spanish. Even though there were fewer Catalán speakers than Spanish ones, the Cataláns continued to hold the financial and political power in their province (Siguan 1988:4). As could be expected, the language revival was part of a greater societal movement.

The death of Generalisimo Franco in 1975 greatly accelerated this second revival. Today, "[a]s a result of the decrees of King Juan Carlos, it is now once more possible to worship in Catalán, to be educated in Catalán, and to use the language freely without being suspected of disloyalty" (Wardhaugh 1986:353).

There is now a Catalán language institute in Catalunya which is mandated to promote the language. "The General Linguistic Policy Directorate was created in 1980 as a result of the popular and political will to put an end to the situation of deterioration affecting the social use of the Catalán language" (Alemany 1992:2). These institutions help immigrants adopt Catalán as their own language.

The language is also encouraged in businesses. A voluntary association of shops has been organized whose owners and staff have committed themselves to speak Catalán to their customers. All pupils in adult classes in Catalán receive a list of these shops, so they can more easily do their shopping and activate their Catalán at the same time (Fishman 1991:321). Businesses are given incentives to change their signs to Catalán. Restaurants are helped to change their menus to Catalán (Fishman 1991:322).

The shame and inferiority formerly associated with Catalán seem to have been banished. The result of this latest revival has been an increase of Catalán speakers at the spectacular rate of 43,000 new speakers a year. The number of Catalán speakers of all ethnic groups is increasing, and this increase is not only biological. It is a result of an intentional government program which encourages Spanish speakers to switch to Catalán. A 1986 census indicated that a higher percentage of young people from 15 - 19 years speak Catalán than the older generation. 64% of the general population speaks Catalán, but 78.2% of the young people (Alemany 1992:1). The higher percentage of young speakers indicates that society is shifting toward the use of Catalán.

The revival of Catalán is not hailed as enthusiastically by the Spanish speakers of Catalunya, who are the majority of the population in the cities. For example, some Spanish speakers want to have the right to be served in Spanish at government offices. Another belief is that the promotion of Catalán contributes to the breakup of the country.

In spite of this opposition, the industrious, proud Cataláns have succeeded in retaining and promoting their language. They are a large number of speakers determined to keep Catalán identity and language from shifting toward Spanish. On two separate occasions, they made conscious efforts to reverse the encroachment of Spanish, and both times they have been successful.

Hebrew

The most successful case of language revival and revitalization is that of Modern Hebrew, or Ivrit. Hebrew was extinct as a spoken language, but is now spoken by over 4 million people, mostly in the country of Israel (Grimes 1988:413). Yet even while Hebrew was not spoken, it had a large number of potential speakers, descendants of Hebrew speakers who had shifted to other languages. This shift away from Hebrew began around 300 B.C. (Jesus himself spoke Aramaic and Hebrew). Spolsky writes, "By the nineteenth century there had not been native speakers of Hebrew for some seventeen hundred years" (1990:129).

In the late 1800's, Zionists began acting on the dream of reviving this basically extinct language. Ben-Yehuda, a Russian Jew who arrived in Palestine in 1881, was at the center of the revival. He felt Biblical Hebrew was too cumbersome to be used as a modern language, as it did not have many terms for everyday items and activities. To help vernacularize and modernize Hebrew, Ben-Yehuda founded the Hebrew Language Academy in Jerusalem. The Hebrew Language Academy simplified some aspects of Biblical Hebrew, modified the spelling, and coined some new words. "...in preparing new terminologies so that speakers could cope with the exigencies of modern daily life, the Hebrew Language Academy started with carpentry and 'kitchenry' (artifacts and activities of the modern kitchen), rather than with teminologies for the natural sciences" (Fishman 1991:13). They initially coined words derived only from Semitic languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic (Cooper 1989: 123, 124). The Hebrew Language Academy still publishes and distributes approved Hebrew words. Ben Yehuda also wrote a *Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew*. He and his band of idealists used and zealously promoted Hebrew in all language functions of modern life. Speaking the language was made a priority over writing, and he personally refused to speak any language other than Hebrew. He claimed he even dreamed in Hebrew. His enthusiasm was contagious.

Not everyone in the Jewish community supported the revived use of Hebrew. "One early argument was that it did not have the power of modern languages like German, French and English for science and commerce" (Spolsky 1990:131). This proved untrue.

There was a much more serious fight with Yiddish, the first language of the majority of Israelis. The Hebraists waged a relentless campaign against Yiddish, calling it "loathsome, vulgar, and backward—a boot-licking jargon of people subservient to non-Jews" (Fishman 1991:308). Graduates of Yiddish schools during the 1930's were turned back from Israel and its passengers ended up in Nazi

extermination camps (Fishman, 1991:327). Posters with the (Hebrew) injunction "Hebrew people speak Hebrew" appeared in Palestine. The fight with Yiddish is still going on. To this day, ultra-religious Jews in Israel speak Yiddish because they feel Hebrew should only be used for the Holy Scriptures. Modern Hebrew is still not taught in their schools. However, since the powerful forces of social change in Israel move toward Hebrew, both languages are spoken generally by their children. So although Yiddish speakers in Israel are not decreasing in numbers, there are signs that they are beginning to shift to Hebrew, even though they do not support the shift.

English is now a more serious threat to Hebrew for various reasons, especially the importance of trade with English speaking nations. An example of this is that English is mentioned as a job requirement in about 10 percent of the advertisements in Hebrew newspapers. Cooper and Seckback's survey found that in white collar jobs, this figure increased to 27 percent (cited in Cooper 1989:85). As a result, parents are putting pressure on Israeli schools to begin teaching English at grade one.

The Hebrew revival movement at the turn of the present century succeeded because it caused an entire generation of parents to speak the language to their children. "Since the children graduating from the Hebrew language schools in the 1890's spoke Hebrew better than they spoke their parents' languages, it was natural that when they married they would speak Hebrew with each other and with their children" (Spolsky 1990:129). So by the late 1920's, the grandchildren of the generation who first put their children in Hebrew immersion in the 1890's were likely to be native speakers of Hebrew.

The immigrants who came to Israel after World War I found that Hebrew was the main language of the Palestinian Jewry. They were forced to learn it in order to gain employment (Cooper 1989:108).

On the one hand, since spoken Hebrew was revived from extinction, it may be argued that the Hebrew language project was going against the forces of cultural change. However, one of the ways in which the number of Hebrew speakers increased was highly unusual and difficult to replicate. The miraculous revival was made possible because of the co-occurrence of several things, including: a common vision—Zionism, people who were willing to discipline themselves to speak Hebrew only, isolation from the non-Hebrew speaking society, and a need for a lingua franca because of the diverse Jewish population.

There are two innovations the Israeli government uses today to promote Hebrew. One is the "mercazei klita", or assimilation centers. Anyone who had two papers proving Jewish ancestry is automatically allowed to immigrate to Israel. If they come with funding from the Israeli government, their family would be housed in one of the mercazei klita found throughout Israel. These are temporary (usually six month) housing complexes, where immigrants from all over the world were intentionally mixed. People speaking different languages are forced to live together for several months. They are given Hebrew lessons, indoctrinated by rabbis, and given opportunity and guidance to integrate into Israeli society.

The other program is called "ulpan", or studio. This is an intensive Hebrew language program used by the more well-heeled immigrants. It is a program of full immersion in Hebrew. There are levels aleph (a) to vav (i). Once a person passes level vav, he may take the ptor, or university entrance exams. Ulpans are encouraged for students and other immigrants who come to Israel on their own accord, without government help. There are Hebrew as a second language classes for children in schools, as well as individual tutoring sessions for children of immigrants (Cooper 1989:157).

Today Hebrew is spoken in every domain of Israeli society. Songs are written in, or translated into, Hebrew. People type on Hebrew alphabet keyboards. There is a Hebrew movie industry, and extensive literature in Hebrew (much of it translated from English). Education at all levels, including the universities, is in Hebrew. Some technical words, like philosophy and ambulance, are borrowed, but others are coined. The Hebrew language project has been so successful that in fifty years most Israeli citizens spoke it as their native language, and many are monolingual in Hebrew.

The immigrants to Israel spoke many different languages and were well educated and motivated. They also desperately needed a common language in which to communicate, and Hebrew was the natural choice, because most immigrants already knew how to read it. Rabin writes that even as early as the mid-nineteenth century, Judezmo and Arabic-speaking Jewry in Palestine used Hebrew as a lingua franca to communicate in places like the market (cited in Cooper 1989:12). So in some ways, the revival of the extinct Hebrew language moved very much with the flow of cultural shift in Israel. It would be very difficult to duplicate the exact conditions in which Hebrew was successfully revived.

Solidarity

A language project will usually fail if the focus is on language alone. It is much more likely to succeed if it is part of a greater societal movement. That is, if language promotion is part of a nationalist movement, or if it is perceived as an expression of solidarity or ethnicity, it has greater potential for success. Projects on behalf of languages spoken by people who have a strong sense of "us" versus "them" are often going with the current of social change. Some language projects which are succeeding because its people feel a strong sense of solidarity include: French in Quebec, Catalán, Hebrew, Yiddish, Irish, Frisian, Me'phaa, Maori, and Melanesian Creoles.

In the late 1970's in Quebec, the movement to promote French was strengthened by Bill 101 of the Quebec legislature. This bill made French the only language permitted on signs. It was made very difficult for children to get education in any language other than French. Professionals wishing to practice in Quebec were made to pass French language exams. Public films were required to have French subtitles or be dubbed. Courts were held in French. Telephone books had to be in French. It was required that businesses be named and conducted in French and inspectors ensured this is the case (Fishman 1991:310-311). Bill 101 and the related social changes resulted from the pressure applied by federal and provincial parties which advocate independence for Quebec. "...the furtherance of French has gone hand in hand with the Francization of industrial, commercial and provincial-governmental operations" (Fishman 1991:18). The movement for the French language has been part of the Quebec nationalist movement.

This movement has been somewhat unpopular in the rest of Canada, but to a large degree it has been successful in Quebec. In the early 1980's, only 53.1% of English mother tongue residents of Quebec still spoke English at home, 46.6% of them having switched to French" (Fishman 1991:318).

Fishman notes the Catalán's reversing language shift efforts were motivated by the long and proud historical record of cultural, political, and commercial-industrial accomplishments (1991:295). Pi-Sunyer reports there are few Cataláns who doubt that they are in some way "better" than the Spanish (cited in Paulston 1992:58). Catalán pride sustained them throughout Franco's persecution, and Catalán pride motivated the language revival.

The revival of Hebrew began in Palestine and in Eastern Europe in the 1880's, under the influence of European nationalist movements, which viewed the language of a people as inseparable from its nationality. Land and language were seen to be the twin foundations of nationhood (Cooper 1989:176). For the Zionists, the promotion of Hebrew was seen as a tool in the struggle for social change (Cooper 1989:12). Using Hebrew, the ancient language of the land of Israel, symbolized the continuity of attachment to the land, and legitimized the attempts to re-establish a Hebrew-speaking homeland there (Cooper 1989:13). Finally, Hebrew symbolized the tradition common to Jewry everywhere.

Hebrew succeeded because, according to Bachi, twenty to thirty thousand people were willing to leave their culture in Eastern Europe, move to Palestine, and create a new society (quoted in Cooper 1989:13). Once in Palestine, they alienated themselves from the people already living there, who did not speak Hebrew. They were determined to establish new settlements where Hebrew was to become the vernacular—for the infants, but more importantly for adults who persuaded themselves to set their native language aside in favor of a still rather stilted Hebrew (Fishman 1991:291). Thus, the most successful

language revitalization project ever was brought about by the fairly rapid creation of Hebrew-speaking communities. The members of the community believed in speaking only Hebrew among themselves.

This philosophy of solidarity continues to this day in Israel. Many immigrant families begin using Hebrew in their homes as soon as they can, something Israeli society encourages. Synagogues too, usually use Hebrew only, even if there are more people in the congregation who understand English, because English is seen as a symbol of the secular and of the Diaspora (Cooper 1989: 36, 37).

Hebrew became the language of the new nation of Israel, which was founded in 1948. Even the unique Hebrew alphabet, which posed some compatibility problems with the rest of the world, did not deter the spread of Hebrew throughout Israel. Hebrew became "the symbol par exellence of the Israeli state" (Cooper 1989:37).

The key to the success of the Hebrew revival was the strong feeling by the majority of Israelis that Hebrew is a worthwhile language to speak and promote. Hebrew has fulfilled the need for solidarity among the various races who have settled in Israel.

There have been numerous educational efforts to conserve Yiddish, but it has declined in speakers everywhere except in the communities which practice ultraorthodox Judaism. The ultraorthodox are active in welcoming their secular countrymen to join them in religious festivals. This practice results in some secular Jews converting to their faith. They also have very large families, which are raised insulated from the outside world. There is a strong sense of solidarity, of "us" versus "them" in ultraorthodox neighborhoods. Since the ultraorthodox community speaks Yiddish, the number of Yiddish speakers has increased as the number of ultraorthodox has increased, both in Israel, and particularly in the United States.

Irish is a language which lost millions of speakers to English. By 1911, only 550,000 spoke it. By 1971, the Irish speakers numbered 789,429 (Grimes 1988:376), the result of a strong Irish language program. The Irish language has been promoted by the government since Ireland became independent from Britain, and Irish became the first official language.

The Irish people feel it is important to assert that they and their language are different from English. It should be noted, though, that the Irish revival is not a total success. Although almost 800,000 listed themselves as Irish speakers on the census forms, Groakley explains that "knowledge of Irish is subjectively assessed, and many people who return themselves as Irish-speaking on consus [*sic*] forms may be expressing a strong emotional attachment to the language rather than claiming that they possess a reasonable degree of fluency in Irish" (quoted in Williams 1985:144). In actuality English is the dominant language, and even though Irish is widely studied in school, only 120,000 use it every day. It appears, then, that the revival of Irish has been overrated by the government and the Irish people. Even fewer Irish speak Irish as a first language now, than before the Irish promotion campaign began, and monolingual Irish speakers are in danger of disappearing (Cooper 1989:107).

Frisian is a language with 730,000 speakers (Grimes 1988:381). Most of the speakers are in Holland, but there are also some in Germany. For centuries Dutch had been the language of the higher prestige, urban domains, and Frisian had been the language of the lower prestige and rural domains.

Language became an issue in Friesland (the Dutch province where Frisian is primarily spoken) in the nineteenth century. At that time, an active Frisian movement embarked on a very successful Frisian language project. The reasons for this project are rooted in a desire to preserve the uniqueness of the Frisian culture. A 1979 Frisian news item stated, "Many Frisian see themselves as 'an ancient and freedom-loving people' who are constantly involved in 'wrenching concessions from a highly centralized and essentially foreign government'" (quoted in Fasold 1984:311).

Me'phaa, or Tlapanec, is a group of dialects spoken by 75,000 people in southern Mexico. In the 1970's there was a barely passable road into Me'phaa territory, which brought in Spanish-speaking Mexicans and their attitudes. Mark Weathers writes, "It seems to me that in 1972 at least an influential

segment of the Iliatenco [a Me'phaa village] society felt it was necessary to turn their backs on their identity as speakers of an unwritten 'dialecto', which is the source of the severest discrimination in Mexico" (Mark Weathers, p.c.). When indigenous people in Mexico come into contact with Spanish-speaking Mexicans, they tend to be ridiculed or despised for speaking their Native American language. The shift away from Me'phaa was evident in the children, who spoke Spanish as they were playing on the streets, and in adults, who refused to talk Me'phaa with strangers (Weather, p.c.).

In 1992, Weathers re-visited Ilianteco, and was amazed to find the difference in language use and attitudes. He writes, "In spite of the fact that the town has become more 'modern' than many Me'phaa towns, with electricity, schools, clinics, regular passenger service to the outside, and even satellite dishes, children were talking Me'phaa in the streets, and shop keepers and sophisticated looking citizens alike were glad to talk to me in their language" (Weathers, p.c.). Although people could speak Spanish better than they could before, they had switched back to Me'phaa.

How did this revitalization happen? It began when some of the influential Me'phaa leaders spearheaded a back-to-Me'phaa movement. Weathers speculates that after they achieved some status in, and some of the benefits of, the Spanish-speaking society, they realized they wanted to keep their Me'phaa identity and language. Positive attitudes toward being Me'phaa were the driving force behind this shift back to their native language.

The most effective thing they did was get rid of the Spanish-speaking teachers, and replace them with Me'phaa ones. Now speaking Me'phaa became a requirement rather than a liability when it came to getting a teaching job.

So-called 'stable bilingualism' is very unstable. That is, rarely do people to remain bilingual in their own minority language and a dominant one over the generations. The tendency is for them to gradually give up their native language as the dominant society encroaches. With the Me'phaa, the dominant society encroached at the same time their traditional language was strengthening. In defiance of the norm, they were able to actually use aspects of the Spanish-speaking society—books, radio, schools—to promote Me'phaa.

The Me'phaa insist they are able to understand all the different Me'phaa dialects—something other Mexican indigenous groups with different dialects do not claim. This assertion of unity is one indication of the strong sense of Me'phaa solidarity (Charles Speck, personal communication). This sense of solidarity was one of the factors which allowed them to successfully reverse the shift to Spanish.

Throughout most of this century in New Zealand, Maori was rapidly being replaced by English. But there were also leaders who attempted to incite Maori language, pride, and nationalism. They quoted Maori traditional proverbs such as "Without Maori there is no Maoriness" and "Language is the very life force of Maoriness" as an indication of the importance of language in culture (Fishman 1991:230). The Maoris rallied around leaders like Sir James Henare, rallied his people to the cause of language revival at the Waitangi Tribunal with statements like: "The language is the core of our Maori culture... If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left? Then, I ask our own people, who are we?" (quoted in Niedzielski 1992:372). In the 1980's, something of a miracle began, and today, a "flurry of community encouraged activities, with some public and government support, is promising to make Maori one of the few languages to rise from its death-bed, revived and revitalized as a living language" (Spolsky 1990:122).

It was not only the Maoris, but also the New Zealand government, who were enthusiastic about reviving the Maori language. Kennedy explains, "The pekeha (European) guilt at the possibility of cultural genocide resulted in their being quite a warm response to such tokenism as Maori Language Week, the official adoption by Government of standards of Maori pronunciation for place names, etc." (Spolsky 1989:122).

However, the increasing reliance on New Zealand government funding threatens Maori solidarity. In 1989 the Department of Maori Affairs budgeted the equivalent of roughly 12 million U.S. dollars for the *kohanga reos* (Fishman 1991:247). This is dangerous because if the government decides to cut back funding, the language project is in immediate danger. More importantly, though, this dependence undercuts local Maori responsibility for their own project, and leaves the planning more and more in the hands of the government.

Literacy

A language project that does not encourage people to read and write is likely to fail. It is only through literacy that languages can be maintained in the future. Fishman writes, "Unless they are entirely withdrawn from the modern world, minority ethnolinguistic groups need to be literate in their mother tongue (as well as in some language of wider communication)..." (1980:169).

Most language projects almost instinctively emphasize literacy. In India, the government gives prizes for writers who prepared Hindi materials for the newly literate. Navajo teachers are producing literacy materials needed for their language project (Reyhner 1990:108). Nearly everyone in the province of Catalunya is being taught to read Catalán. The Me'phaa are targeting literacy with the "Me'phaa 2000" program, which aims to have 2000 works in Me'phaa by the year 2000.

The German government of Tangayika saw literacy as a way to spread Swahili. "Swahili newspapers were founded, and village headmen made reports in Swahili" (Paulston 1992:61). When the British took over after World War I, they continued this policy (Fasold 1984:267, 268). As of the 1970's, literature in Swahili consisted mainly of periodicals and school materials. In order to read novels, poems, and drama, even by African writers, it was necessary to learn English. In order to demonstrate that the language is fully capable of being used for literary work, President Nyerere himself translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar into Swahili. W. O'Barr notes an economist named Peter Temu followed this lead with the publication of a textbook in Swahili in his field (cited in Fasold 1984:275-276). In recent years, popular novels such as detective stories and romances have been published. Hinnebusch notes there have also been translations of titles by African authors that had been written in English originally (quoted in Fasold 1984:270-276).

Literacy was a key to Hebrew revival. Hebrew never died completely. It continued to remain widely known and used as a liturgical language primarily associated with religious ritual and the reading of the Bible. It was also used in the composition of legal, scientific, and philosophical texts (Cooper 1989:12). In the eighteenth century, it began to be used as a medium for modern *belles lettres*. Rabin notes that until the nineteenth century, many men could read and write Hebrew (cited in Cooper 1989:12), so it was not be that difficult for them to begin speaking it.

The number of Basque newspapers is growing, indicating an increase in literacy. This is significant, because traditionally Basque is only an oral language. There are volunteers who have translated hundreds of specialized volumes into Basque. These efforts have resulted in a Basque university, which now teaches a third of its curriculum in Basque. "For the first time in history, there are young Basque intellectuals who are embarking on academic careers in Basque rather than only in Spanish or French" (Fishman 1991:178).

A literacy project can also give a language permanence. Cherokee and Mohawk are two Amerindian languages which have a long history or contact with Europeans, and also a long literary tradition (Crawford 1989:8). That these languages survive when other Amerindian languages surrounding them have not is a testimony to the staying power that literacy gives a language. In general, languages with literary traditions survive longer than languages with oral traditions only.

Often a language will die in stages. It is common for a minority language to borrow vocabulary and phonology from the dominant language. If this trend continues unchecked, the speakers are likely to

eventually stop using their language altogether. Fasold considers one-sided borrowing from the dominant language to the minority language a stage of language shift (1984:241). Huave and Dogrib are two language projects which have used literacy to stop the inflow of Spanish and English loanwords, respectively.

It may be an overstatement to say that the Huave project reversed a full-blown language shift, but it did guide the language back into the mainstream of Huave society. In 1982, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, an organization involved in translation and literacy in minority languages, surveyed Huave and found it was spoken by 12,000 people in and around the community of San Mateo del Mar in southern Mexico (cited in Grimes 1988:22). SIL conducts a project there consisting primarily of the publication of a New Testament and a dictionary. Huave literacy and the Huave dictionary have been instrumental in stemming the flow of Spanish loan-words into Huave. Because of the dictionary, the Huave people have been reviving and revising the way they speak. Huave also shifted into the domain of literature. The dictionary and New Testament had a symbiotic relationship, and the sales of one increased the sales of the other. Huave primers have also been used to teach the language in schools (Steve Marlett, personal communication).

A 1987 SIL survey found Dogrib spoken by 2400 indigenous people in northern Canada (cited in Grimes 1988:11). Although most Dogribs speak their language, there is almost universal bilingualism, which has resulted in a lot of borrowing from English.

The Dogrib language project consists of a Leslie Saxon, linguist from Victoria, working together with a team from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. They have produced a grammar of Dogrib, some primers to help the people read their language, and a dictionary. These efforts had a healthy effect on the people's attitude toward their language. Seeing that it could be written down and had grammar, just like English, brought a sense of pride to the people (Leslie Saxon, personal communication). The dictionaries were very popular, as the people became interested in using the Dogrib words, rather than English loan-words.

The Dogrib language project was successful in that it pushed back the tide of language shift toward English, at least in a limited way. Although Dogrib was not in immediate danger of extinction, poor attitudes toward the language, widespread bilingualism, and incursion of English words were indicators that the language could be in danger in the future. As was the case with Huave, Dogrib literacy and the Dogrib/English dictionary served to reverse the trend of using English words when speaking Dogrib, and the project boosted the morale of the Dogrib speakers. There has been some success in stemming the forces of change toward English.

A literacy project in minority languages can also be a pre-emptive strike, before language shift occurs. When people living in isolated areas come into contact with modern society, whole new worlds and new domains requiring whole new vocabulary, open up for them. If they are illiterate, these new domains are often filled by the new, dominant language. If people are taught to read and write their own language, their language has the potential to immediately move into the various domains available to written languages. SIL personnel working with minority groups such as the Machiguenga (Steve Marlett, personal communication), Zapotecs (Charles Speck, personal communication), Motilones (Bruce Olson 1978), Seri (Mary Moser, personal communication), and Binumarien (David Wakefield, personal communication), have begun successful literacy projects, and caused these languages to move into domains hitherto held by Spanish or Tok Pisin.

Literacy has been instrumental in the Kaurna revival project in the plains of Adelaide, Australia. Kaurna is an aboriginal language which ceased being used on a daily basis in the 1860's. The last speaker died in 1929. Although it is almost unheard of for a language that has gone out of all use to be revived, Kaurna appears to be such a case.

Since 1990 people have been attempting to reclaim, reassemble, and become literate in Kaurna. Since no sound recording are available, the only basis for the project are documents recorded in the 19th century by German missionaries and other observers. They started with writing songs, and producing a songbook and cassette. Then Kaurna was introduced into the school programs. Momentum slowly grew, and now it is relatively common to use Kaurna to deliver speeches at openings of conferences and other events. Rob Amery, from the University of Adelaide has witnessed well over 100 such speeches (1997). There are also signs that Kaurna is beginning to spread beyond the domains of education and speechmaking.

Immersion

One element successful language projects have in common is that they do not teach the language in question via another language. Well thought-out language projects are careful to maintain at least one environment where people can be immersed in the target language. Some languages that illustrate this include: French, Catalán, Hebrew, Basque, Navajo, Maori, and Arapaho.

Most frequently, the term "immersion" is used with reference to schools, particularly schools for children. In an effort to promote French, the Canadian government began sponsoring French immersion programs in the English speaking parts of the country. They started out as programs for infants, but "once the success of the early (first grade) programmes became clear, there was intense parental pressure that called for the establishment of middle (seventh grade) and late (eleventh grade) total immersion programmes" (Spolsky 1989:127, 128). The Canadian French immersion programs have resulted in a small but growing number of secondary school graduates who are bilingual in French.

Two minority language projects in Spain also make use of immersion schools. In addition to immersion daycares and schools, the Cataláns have three-day "immersion colonies" where youngsters can spend some time with native Catalán speaking peers (Fishman 1991:321).

Since the time of Franco, the Basques have had Basque-immersion private schools, called *ikastolas*. The *ikastolas* have had a great impact on the teens. "Relative to their parents, 14- to 18-year-olds are strikingly ahead in claiming to know some Basque (50% vs. 17 %)" (Fishman 1991:180). The future of Basque looks better than its past, because the revival efforts have had an impact on the age-group most likely soon to begin families of their own.

Paul Rosier and Wayne Holm write about Rock Point, which is a K-12 bilingual school where some teachers teach only in Navajo. Kindergarten students are taught reading in Navajo, and in the early grades, all subjects are taught in Navajo (cited in Reyhner 1989:97, 98). Now they are finding a gradually increasing number of students who come to school dominant in English. In order to get these students to the level where they can participate fully in the Navajo part of the curriculum, a program is being developed in which students who speak only English are tutored in Navajo until they reach the level of their Navajo-speaking peers.

Arapaho is a North American Indian language spoken in Wyoming and Oklahoma. The Summer Institute of Linguistics found 1500 Arapaho speakers out of a population of 5000 in 1977, which was very similar to the state of Kwak'wala. Assuming the decline continued at the rate of Kwak'wala's, there would probably be no more than 300 Arapaho speakers today.

However, the language has had a small revival (an increase of at least four speakers) due to an immersion project that was unrelated to the educational system. The Arapahos took two sets of women with babies to live with the two elderly women who spoke the language. Two years later, the children and their parents are able to speak fluent Arapaho (Peter Jacobs, personal communication). If the mothers continue their contact with the elders, and if they continue speaking Arapaho only to their children, Arapaho may continue to exist as a living language. This project highlights the fact that there is no

language which is so far gone, that nothing can be done with it. It also shows the effectiveness of immersion and mother tongue transmission.

The most successful language project, Hebrew, did not restrict the philosophy of immersion to the schools, but spread it quickly to all levels of society. Fishman writes, "The revival was based upon prior adult ideological commitment to spoken Hebrew and it was finally accomplished by creating Hebrew-as-a second-language settlements (homes, families, neighborhoods) without even waiting for elementary schools to be organized" (1991:245). The early settlers were very eager to speak Hebrew in Palestine and to raise and educate their children in that language, and they made sure to appoint specialists to assist with and to supervise child-rearing in Hebrew from the very earliest days of their children's lives (1991:301). By 1898, Hebrew had become the language of instruction in kindergartens, and by 1906 it was in the high schools (Cooper 1989:13). These schools remained very much under community control. The schools were instrumental in the revival, because students were persuaded to speak only Hebrew inside the school walls, as well as in their homes and community. The schools were closely linked with homes and communities that fully supported Hebrew revival. The children in the Hebrew schools performed the useful role of reinforcing Hebrew in their homes.

The Maori language project is interesting because it has succeeded in dramatically slowing the shift toward English by using immersion schools for all age-groups.

The Maoris perceived that the key to reviving Maori was to teach the children before they went to school in English. Rather than wait for the government to do something, the Maoris took matters into their own hands. A meeting of Maori leaders, sponsored by the Department of Maori Affairs in 1981, suggested the establishment of all-Maori-language preschool groups, in which fluent Maoris—mostly volunteers—would conduct the programmes and make up for the fact that the majority of Maori parents could no longer speak their language (Spolsky 1990:122). These were called *'kohanga reos'* or 'language nests'.

The local Maori communities were in charge or organizing and implementing these language nests, and the Department of Maori Affairs provided some encouragement and financial support. These locally-controlled projects boomed from four language nests in 1982 to nearly five hundred in 1987.

"The effect of the *kohanga reos* cannot be exaggerated. Where six years ago a bare handful of children came to primary school with any knowledge of the Maori language, now each year between 2000 and 3000 children, many of them fluent bilinguals, start school after having already been exposed to daily use of the Maori language for three or more years" (Spolsky 1990:123). Of importance is not only the length of their exposure to Maori, but the age of their exposure. They are exposed to Maori culture and language before they have been strongly impacted by English language and culture.

The success of the Maori project has not been limited to preschools. There is also a strategy for the primary schools. Maori parents hope to add class after class, as new children arrive year after year from *kohanga reos*, until a completely Maori school exists (Fishman 1991:241). As a result of this strategy, Maori is starting to become available as a language of instruction in New Zealand primary schools, a move recognized by the Department of Education. These bilingual classes are not as successful in secondary school, and only some of the courses are taught in Maori. There is even a bilingual post-secondary institution, Makoura College, to instruct bilingual teachers (Spolsky 1990:124).

A major problem with the Maori bilingual programs is the big gap in knowledge of Maori between the children from the language nests and those who are not. Right now those children are only in primary school, but soon they will be in secondary and post-secondary schools. There is an urgent need to develop teaching material in Maori at higher levels. Spolsky notes, "When the five-year-old starts secondary school in seven or eight years, his level of knowledge of Maori and fluency in it will be far ahead of the children completing secondary school now: the enormity of the challenge is obvious" (Spolsky 1990:127). However, the Maori teachers, with minimal resources and working often against

established administrative patterns, are starting to build a blueprint, pioneering their way into the new domain of Maori education.

In addition to schools and preschools, the Maori language project has been successful in reviving the language among the adults. One method, called the *aatarangi*, teaches those who are already Maori speakers (mostly grandparents) to become language teachers (Fishman 1991:237).

Interacting with the *aatarangi* movement is the Family Development Program (*Tu Tangata Whanau*). This program establishes urban neighborhood centers where Maori is spoken. Their goal is to re-establish Maori cultural norms of hospitality, caring, spirituality and sharing—behavioral norms for which the spoken Maori language is considered essential (Fishman 1991:237).

There are Maori immersion programs for adults, too. These adult immersion programs take place on *marae*, which are like recreational and cultural centers in Maori communities. The courses usually last about one week. Before entering the course, the adults are asked to prepare some survival phrases in Maori because, during the course, the use of English in completely banned. The students survive with the help of their dictionaries and with pantomime.

There are about 30-35 students in each course, which usually is divided into three groups at three different levels. The groups join for some activities and separate for others. Activities include everything from lectures, to sweeping the floor, to giving a speech.

The immersion courses emphasize spirituality. Activities include Bible studies, church services, and prayers. Nicholson, who has organized many adult immersion courses, finds the whole tone of the courses improves with the strengthening of spirituality (1989:119).

The immersion courses also emphasize physical activities in Maori. Students begin the day with exercises, move from class to class, wait on tables, clean the *marae*, sing vigorous *waiata-a-ringa* or modern action songs, and play sports (Nicholson 1989:114, 115).

The adult immersion programs have been successful. They have resulted in adults speaking much more Maori, which in turn feeds into the children's immersion experience. The course has also become recognized in academic circles. It is part of the degree program at *Te Wananga o Raukawa*, a Maori college (Nicholson 1989:110).

Music features prominently in the adult immersion program. After the week is over, they celebrate with a concert. Nicholson writes, "Music and songs are a great way to promote Maori among the young. The concerts have proven to be a good training ground for composers and musicians" (1989:116). One of the real signs of progress in language revival is the formation of a Maori language pop band.

The Maori language project has been a success that has defied all the experts' predictions. It has succeeded because of its unique immersion programs—particularly its "language nests". It has also succeeded because it was a project that was conceived entirely by the Maori people.

However, the project has not been a total success. Karetu writes, "There are more fluent speakers passing away each day than there are speakers of comparable ability coming up to take their place" (quoted in Fishman 1991). The problem may be because, in concentrating on education and on the children, they neglected the homes, neighborhoods and communities. (It is difficult for the Maoris to concentrate on homes, neighborhoods, and communities, since most of them live in urban areas). However, the natural—and ultimately, only sustainable—way in which language can be preserved is to have parents teach it to their children in Maori-speaking communities. Learning Maori in a *kohanga reo*, in school, or in an immersion camp can only be a temporary measure. For long-term success, there must be an emphasis on re-building Maori-speaking homes and communities.

Media

It appears that successful language projects all have made efforts to use their language in the media and develop a body of literature. A language project which ignores the importance of the media will encounter difficulties. The Working group on Irish Language Television Broadcasting reported in 1987, "a language which does not have a substantial television service of its own cannot have a credible contemporary status; the stature of a language depends to a large extent on its presence and use in the media, and especially on television" (quoted in Benton, 1991:1). Some language projects which have made use of media and literature include: Chinese, English, Hindi, Swahili, Amharic, Catalán, Hebrew, Yiddish, Sango, Tok Pisin, Irish, Basque, Frisian, Navajo, Me'phaa, and Maori.

The Chinese government has made an effort to popularize the Beijing variety of Chinese, called *Putonghua*, (the common language). It is taught in schools, and used in politics, and mass media. The government has gone to great lengths to spread Putonghua, which it sees as a unifying force, throughout China.

For all the effort, the progress has been limited. As of the 1980's, an increase in the use of Putonghua is noticeable only in large urban areas (Wardhaugh 1986:368). Putonghua has not yet spread to the rural areas, where the majority of the Chinese people live.

In Taiwan, where only ten percent of the population speaks the Beijing variety of Chinese, there is also a governmental Chinese promotion program. Speakers of Beijing Chinese were imported from the mainland to teach their variety of the language. Radio and newspapers are in Mandarin (Cooper 1989:158). Taiwan now has an increasing percentage of people literate in Mandarin and able to speak Mandarin—which Berg attributes to the government's language promotion strategy (quoted in Cooper 1989:158).

As part of the Hindi language project, the Indian government has actively promoted Hindi literature. Das Gupta notes the government awards cash prizes for authors of Hindi books, and has even gone so far as to buy books from Hindi writers, and publish and distribute them (cited in Cooper 1989:76).

For the Amharic language project, the government ensured newspapers and books were published in Amharick, and literature published in other Ethiopian languages was prohibited. The lion's share of radio broadcast was in Amharic. Courts were always in Amharic—even in non-Amhara areas. In this manner, Amharic was spread from the capital, Addis Ababa, along the roads and through the towns of Ethiopia (Cooper 1989:23, 24).

A publishing movement in Catalán was an integral part of their language project. Since the shift away from Spanish began, Catalán has appeared on the mass media (press, radio, television), and has high audience levels (Alemany 1992:1). One slogan, personified by a winsome ten-year-old cartoon character, and repeated over and over again in television and other media, was "El catala, cosa de tots" ("Catalán belongs to everyone") (Fishman 1991:306). In 1992, the games in Barcelona were billed as the "Catalán Olympics", and all ads and material relating to the games were in Catalán.

One unique feature of the Hebrew language project is that it has media that is geared for language learners. A weekly newspaper is published in pointed (simplified) Hebrew, and the daily newspaper's back page is also in pointed Hebrew. The news is broadcast daily in simplified Hebrew, and Hebrew literature is translated into simplified Hebrew. There is even a television series in simplified Hebrew (Cooper 1989:157). Additionally, there is a Hebrew movie industry and extensive literature in Hebrew, much of it translated from English.

In an effort to promote the official language, the government of Papua New Guinea uses Tok Pisin in its publications, radio broadcasts, and press (there is a newspaper *Nu Gini Toktok*) (Wardhaugh 1986:361).

Irish is a language with a great literary history, and there has been a recent massive government effort to translate literature into Irish. Enough new terminology has been developed to be able to conduct all government business in Irish, and to make it fully functional for every domain in the 20th century. Some radio and television programs are broadcast in Irish. There has been a revival of Irish literature; novels, short stories, poetry, and plays continue to be written in Irish (Cooper 1989:107).

The Irish language project has succeeded in vastly increasing the number of speakers of Irish-as-a-second-language, but, paradoxically, it has not succeeded in reversing the shift toward spoken English. This demonstrates the difficulty faced by a project that goes against the current of language change. Even though the Irish people were motivated, and even though the government did a lot of work to make Irish relevant, they were not able to reverse the flow toward English in the home. The reason they may be experiencing failure is because they relied too heavily on education, without concentrating as well on the home front. Furthermore, unlike the immigrants in Palestine who needed to learn a new language to talk to each other, the Irish could communicate perfectly with each other in English. Finally, as Fennell points out, the initiative for the promotion of Irish came from outside the Irish speaking areas, not from the Irish speakers themselves (quoted in Cooper 1989:161).

Students are at the forefront in producing Navajo media, in the forms of newspaper, radio, and television. At each quarter of both the primary and secondary level, an award winning bilingual school newspaper is produced by the program. Students learn to type both Navajo and English in the computer class and the newspaper is typeset and laid out with Macintosh computers (Reyhner 1990:108). Students also give speeches and act plays in Navajo. Their productions are broadcast on the tribe's 50,000 watt AM radio and on the school's low wattage television station (Reyhner 1990:108).

The successful Maori and Me'phaa language projects include a nightly ten minute national news program in the language (Nicholson 1989:112) and a radio broadcast, respectively.

Conclusion

Language projects are most successful when they are consistent with the direction in which social forces are guiding language behavior. For example, since people in Tanzania are shifting toward bilingualism in Swahili, the government's Swahili language program will likely be very successful.

Language projects are least likely to succeed when social forces are driving language behavior away from the 'project' language. The most challenging projects are ones in which the number of speakers is declining because people are shifting to another language. These efforts come under the rubric of "reversing language shift". This term will be used frequently in the following chapter, because the project to revive Kwak'wala is an effort to reverse language shift. There are few successful examples of this, the most difficult kind of language revival project: Catalán, Hebrew, Maori, and Me'phaa.

These successful language projects have several things in common. Initially, they all had a large language and/or population base; the speakers all share a strong sense of ethnicity ("we" versus "them"); they promote literacy in the language; they all provide immersion classes for children; and they all used the language in the media.

The average size of the languages that have been successfully revived is over three million. However, that is not as daunting as it sounds. There had been no native speakers of Hebrew at all for 1700 years, so small population alone is not a good enough reason to dismiss the potential success of a language project.

A strong sense of ethnicity is very important. A group that is in the process of assimilating to the dominant culture and language is not likely to have a strong motivation to keeps its language. The Catalán's very strong sense of ethnicity is unique in that it is tied to their region. There are a variety of ethnic groups living in Catalunya who are proud to speak Catalán. People who practiced Judaism were not allowed to assimilate, so they had no choice but to maintain their ethnicity (Paulston 1987:38). The

Maoris were experiencing difficulty assimilating, and were bearing the brunt of unemployment, prison statistics, etc. (Spolsky 1989:122). These negative factors served to reinforce Maori ethnicity by inhibiting assimilation to the dominant society. The Me'phaa also had positive attitudes toward being Me'phaa, and realized they wanted to keep their unique identity (Mark Weathers, personal communication).

All successful projects placed a high premium on literacy. Literacy imparting schools were a very important part of all projects which had positive results.

The successful language projects—Catalán, Me'phaa, Hebrew, and Maori—all emphasized teaching children in the target language. In order to become fluent, it is essential for people to hear the language constantly for a long period of time. From the Hebrew *ulpanim* to the Maori *kohanga reos*; from the Catalán "immersion colonies" to the Me'phaa bilingual schools, immersion programs have successfully revived languages.

The final important factor is that the language, if it is to survive, apparently must be heard on the mass media—television, radio, newspapers, etc. The four language projects which have successfully reversed language shift all made use of the mass media, to one degree or another. Catalán and Hebrew make extensive use of television, radio, and newspapers. Maori has just begun to be used in a ten minute television news spot. Even though media may not have a direct influence on the language, it indirectly influences language attitudes. The use of a language in the media increases its prestige, and presumably makes people more likely to want to speak it.

CHAPTER III

Proposal for Reviving Kwak'wala

In chapter II, five essential elements to a successful language project were identified: the group must have a certain population level, they must share a strong sense of solidarity, there must be a literacy component to the project, their language must be in the media, and there must be opportunities for immersion in the language. This chapter will develop a proposal based on these essentials.

Given the fact that Kwak'wala is a dying language, and given the fact that there have been successful language programs in other languages, this proposal will outline some suggestions in an attempt to preserve the Kwak'wala language, and in that way, strengthen the people. If its suggestions are implemented, Kwak'wala can once again become a language of everyday life in the North Vancouver Island area.

This proposal is motivated by the International Association for the Development of Cross-Cultural Communication which recommends the United Nations adopt a Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. The Association's declaration reads, in part:

> "*Mindful* of the need to arouse and foster awareness, within and across cultures, of the recognition and promotion of linguistic rights of individuals and groups.
>
> *Asserting* that linguistic rights should be acknowledged, promoted, and observed, nationally, regionally and internationally, so as to promote and assure the dignity and equity of all languages.
>
> *Aware* of the need for legislation to eliminate linguistic prejudice and discrimination and all forms of linguistic domination, injustice and oppression, in such contexts as services to the public, the place of work, the educational system, the courtroom, and the mass media" (quoted in Fishman 1991:79-80).

This proposal draws spiritual inspiration from the Maori language project in New Zealand which has had some success in stemming the Maori language shift to English. By the late 1970's, a hundred years after the educational system had started to discourage the use of Maori, the stage had finally been reached in which, as Benton reported in 1981, there were only a few communities where young Maori children still spoke their language natively (cited in Spolsky 1990:122). It seemed as though Maori would go the way of other minority languages in the face of English, and become extinct.

But in the 1980's, something of a miracle began, and today, a "flurry of community encouraged activities, with some public and government support, is promising to make Maori one of the few languages to rise from its death-bed, revived and revitalized as a living language" (Spolsky 1990:122). If there is hope for Maori, there is hope for Kwak'wala.

The basis of this proposal is Joshua Fishman's 1991 study of reversing language shift, which found there were eight stages of language shift. The ones relevant to this proposal are stages seven to four, which applied to Kwak'wala are as follows:

7. Most of the Kwak'wala speakers are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age.
6. Establishing the vital linkage with youth, family neighborhood, and community (this stage is crucial).
5. Voluntary Kwak'wala literacy schools.
4. Kwak'wala in the regular school system.

In Fishman's model stage eight is where the language is least vigorous and stage one is where the language is most alive. Most of the Kwak'wala speakers are beyond child-bearing age, which places Kwak'wala at stage seven on Fishman's grid. This proposal will embrace Fishman's assumptions that Kwak'wala is at stage seven, and will suggest activities to move toward stage six.

The next step, step six, is to concentrate on creating Kwak'wala-speaking families and communities, which are the base of all successful language revival projects (Fishman 1991:374). It is crucial that the Kwak'wala language revival efforts keep in mind that stage six is the foundation on which all other efforts are built.

The road to language death is paved with good intentions. Fishman says, "The landscape is littered with the relatively lifeless remains of attempts to reverse language shift that have engaged in struggles on the wrong front, without real awareness of what they were doing or the problems that faced them" (1991: 91). Many language revival projects have squandered their resources on all sorts of busywork. There are few resources available to those who would want to revive Kwak'wala, so it is important to marshal them in a judicious manner. Dedication is even more important than financial resources, but dedication alone is not enough. There must also be a clear knowledge of what are the appropriate priorities to pursue. This proposal is an effort to channel the good intentions of the people who would like to revive Kwak'wala into an avenue that will bring about success.

To reverse language shift to English, it is important to sequence the steps correctly. Fishman notes that efforts to reverse language shift which are not sequentially planned from an informed perspective rarely succeed, regardless of how colorful or expensive they may be (1991:278). In order to take the right steps, one needs to know precisely what position Kwak'wala is in. Without clear knowledge of the present, one cannot plan effectively for the future. In some ways, Kwak'wala is in a good position to stage a comeback. There is a positive attitude toward the language and a sincere desire to revive it. Statistics Canada found that 75% to 93% of Aboriginal people reported they would like to learn their native language (Aboriginal Peoples Survey 1991:ix-xi), and the Kwakwaka'wakw are no exception. They live in a democratic country—Canada—which is not suppressing the use of Kwak'wala at this time. In fact, there is funding available for the purposes of language revival. In communities such as Alert Bay and T'sulquate, the Kwakwaka'wakw have control of their own elementary schools. Kwak'wala does not have the variety of dialects that larger languages, such as Maori, have. The only place where the dialects may be a problem is Port Hardy, a hub community for three dialects—Gut'sala, Nak'wala, and Kwak'wala. Most of the Kwak'wala speakers live in Kwakwaka'wakw communities, where their own language-in-culture has the potential to dominate. Kwak'wala would also be described as "Abstand" by H. Kloss, that is, it is genetically so dissimilar that it cannot be mistaken for a dialect of English (quoted in Marshall 1994:21). Marshall notes that being Abstand, or very different from English, is a distinct advantage when trying to actively promote the language (1994:21).

Although the small number of Kwak'wala speakers is a disadvantage, this problem has a silver lining. Since the Kwakwaka'wakw community is a small, tight, cohesive, ship, it may be easier to turn around than other and larger languages. With such a small group, a single Kwakwaka'wakw, or a small core of dedicated back-to-Kwak'wala advocates have the potential to make great changes in their communities.

The Need For a Clear Vision

However, in order to turn the ship around, everyone involved must have and articulate a common vision. The wise men traveling to Bethlehem all had different contributions to make, but all of them saw the same star. In the same manner, for the shift away from Kwak'wala to be reversed, as many people and institutions as possible must have the same vision, must clearly see the same star. This star must be something of value. If knowledge of Kwak'wala is judged to be of little value, the motivation to hand

Kwak'wala down to the next generation is going to be weak (Tandefelt 1992:166). In its present weakened state, Kwak'wala cannot afford the political conflict that comes from divergent visions.

One clear vision needs to be articulated, one star needs to be seen by as many Kwakwaka'wakw as possible. This star should take the form of a clear reason for reversing language shift, as well as a clear plan. The plan should state how Kwak'wala will improve the lot of the Kwakwaka'wakw . It is unrealistic to expect adults to voluntarily transfer from English to Kwak'wala just because Kwak'wala is their own language. Cooper says, "Language spreads when potential adopters see a personal advantage in using it" (1989:108). The vision should point out that Kwak'wala will help people find identity and purpose, self-realization and fulfillment (Fishman 1991:407). The vision should offer real rewards, including prizes and grants for usage. Kwak'wala can be a unifying force in the Kwakwaka'wakw communities, and the communities which speak Kwak'wala most could be awarded prizes. Initiatives are needed to clarify the vision and provide concrete reasons for learning and speaking Kwak'wala.

There could be some economic inducement for language learning and use. In Ireland, speakers of the endangered Gaelic are rewarded economically. In Canada, immigrants are paid to attend English classes. Although economic incentives alone do not guarantee Kwak'wala revival, the government and Kwakwaka'wakw communities should make every effort to give adults the opportunities and incentives they need to acquire Kwak'wala.

A clear vision may well provide the best incentive of all. If the communities don't see the star, Kwak'wala will die. If parents don't see the star, no amount of canvassing, fighting and pressure will bring them together. If grandparents don't see the star, no amount of cajoling will cause them to begin communicating in Kwak'wala with their grandchildren. Fishman writes, "Without prior, honest clarification of both goals and doubts, circumstances and possibilities, the likelihood of future ruptures and difficulties is literally built-in into societal reform efforts (and attempts to reverse language shift must be understood to constitute just such an effort) from their very outset" (1991:11). This vision must have an explicit "vote of confidence" from the community. People cannot be tricked into speaking Kwak'wala. Without a shared vision, it will be next to impossible to get the cooperation necessary to revive Kwak'wala. Fishman writes, "It is hard enough to row against the current; it is virtually impossible to do so without knowing where one would like to get to and why" (1991:394). Good public relations and communication are essential for the success of reviving Kwak'wala. With the foundation of a clear vision, a Kwak'wala revival movement could succeed.

Some questions to consider when formulating a vision are: Who will speak Kwak'wala in the Kwakwaka'wakw communities? Will anyone speak English? When is Kwak'wala to be considered "revived"? How do the Kwakwaka'wakw communities ensure they do not once again shift to English? A realistic goal might be *stable diglossia*—that is, where the Kwakwaka'wakw speak both English and Kwak'wala but use each language in distinct domains.

The first part of this chapter is an attempt to provide information which will help the Kwakwaka'wakw formulate a realistic, workable, common vision. The second part is a proposal for reviving Kwak'wala based on this information. Both parts are divided into family/community and education sections. The family/community sections will deal mostly with three of the essential components for a successful language project: Kwakwaka'wakw solidarity, population, and the use of Kwak'wala media and literature. The education sections will deal primarily with other essential components: literacy and immersion classes.

The Proper Role of Family/Community

The Kwakwaka'wakw extended family is a very important unit, and in many cases whole communities consist of only a handful of families. Since the line between family and community is not clearly drawn, they will be treated under the same heading.

One problem that will be encountered by any language project is that families are very hard to control. Furthermore, Cooper warns that introducing Kwak'wala for use at home is probably futile unless there is support for Kwak'wala outside the home as well (1989:108).

Fishman (1991:12) compares reversing language shift advocates to doctors facing a patient with many complications. After becoming aware of the complicated nature of the disease, there are many decisions to be made. The doctors must decide which ailments to leave for later (if they are to be tackled at all) and which to tackle first. They must decide which cures to use, keeping in mind that some cures of ailment A may engender complications with respect to ailment B. Likewise, Kwak'wala advocates must decide which functions to tackle first because they are the most critical. They must decide which populations to target first, and what methods to use. Over and over again pro-Kwak'wala advocates must remind themselves that it is intergenerational mother tongue transmission that they are after, rather than merely good things (or impressive symbolic splashes) for Kwak'wala. Before undertaking any specific project to revive Kwak'wala, the question must be asked, "How will this effort reach into and reinforce the intergenerational link?" (Fishman 1991:393).

The primary efforts that needs to be made is to patch the hole in the tire—a hole that is letting the language leak out—by developing Kwak'wala immersion homes, zones, and neighborhoods. Fishman advises "patient and diligent concentration on the 'home front'" (1991:5). There must be specific domains where everyone in the community agrees to use Kwak'wala, and the community must offer some real rewards for Kwak'wala speakers.

Language shift is a problem of the whole society. In order to help reverse language shift, schools, as well as the whole band government, must help channel the community's resources (attention, funds, manpower, intelligence and dedication) into getting Kwak'wala in the family, neighborhood, and community. Not only teachers, but also workers in the fields of social work and nursing, must come on board. There must be a holistic, integrated approach, with open communication between the schools, the homes, the bands, and cultural institutions such as the U'mista.

Nation states are usually able to preserve their languages because they feel a sense of solidarity within the nation and because there are political boundaries between them and other nations. If the Kwakwaka'wakw are to preserve their language, they too must set up boundaries between themselves and the non-Kwakwaka'wakw community. The differences between the Kwakwaka'wakw and the non-Kwakwaka'wakw community must be accentuated. Solidarity must be encouraged and assimilation discouraged.

Isolation from other groups for religious reasons often leads to language maintenance. The Old Order Amish have been able to preserve their variety of German right outside Philadelphia, and the Hasidic Jews have been able to preserve Yiddish in New York City because they have protected their cultural boundaries through their religion.

At the present time, there is no overt government conspiracy to assimilate the Kwakwaka'wakw and extinguish the Kwak'wala language. However, the lure of English-speaking society is more powerful than ever. The English-speaking media has the effect of breaking down cultural boundaries—and boundaries which reinforce Kwakwaka'wakw solidarity. Financial incentives, education, television and radio channels are all offered to the Kwakwaka'wakw in English. This situation will remain a problem for Kwakwaka'wakw solidarity. There will always be the temptation to begin to speak English to "get ahead".

The best boundary, and the best boundary protector, is the Kwak'wala language itself. Other boundaries can pertain to Kwakwaka'wakw culture. If boundaries are not put in place, the community will tend to switch to English, because speaking Kwak'wala will be redundant.

One radical way to put boundaries in place is to establish whole new communities made up of back-to-native-language advocates.

Shortly after the turn of the century, Jews established Hebrew-speaking communities in Palestine. Although some of the communities failed, the ones that succeeded were able to increase the number of native Hebrew speakers from zero to four million native speakers.

Among Australian Aborigines, there has been a movement where people leave the settlements set up by the government and form their own "outstation" communities in the outback. The outstation communities provide an atmosphere where people can eat Aboriginal food, practice Aboriginal customs, play Aboriginal music, etc. The Aboriginal languages have been preserved much better in the outstations than in the settlements. Fishman writes, "Life in the outstations is far from easy, but it is a life in accord with one or another Aboriginal culture and therefore, a life that is also played out in the appropriate vernacular and liturgical languages pertaining to these cultures" (1991:261).

In contrast to the Australian Aborigines model, in Canada there is a tendency to use modern methods and media like television, radio, videos and computers prematurely in an attempt to revive the language. Possible examples of this tendency may include the National Aboriginal Computer Users Committee which was set up to exchange information in eleven indigenous languages (Chase 1992:14); the Kwak'wala video disk talking dictionary worked on by the U'mista and Neville Lincoln; the creation of Kwak'wala fonts on computer; and the proposed interactive Kwak'wala computer game. Fishman also notes most reversing language shift efforts have a "great dictionary" project (1991:166-167). These projects tend to become "sacred cows" or monuments in their own right, rather than stimulants leading to improved intergenerational mother tongue transmission. Furthermore, it is difficult to compete with English in these modern arenas. For instance, there will always be better English television than Kwak'wala television.

If modern tools are used in the context of enhancing a community of Kwak'wala speakers, they can be useful, but they cannot revive the language by themselves.

There is also the propensity to build edifices and bureaucracies, such as language institutes and schools as a means to revive a dying language. But the key to reversing language shift from Kwak'wala to English is intergenerational transmission, not organization.

It must be remembered that the goal of reversing language shift is for Kwak'wala only to be spoken in Kwakwaka'wakw homes and communities once again, between the generations—between grandparents and grandchildren, between parents and children. To achieve this goal, no modern gadget can take the place of a mother teaching her child Kwak'wala. It is doubtless much harder to work on immersion by building Kwak'wala-speaking communities and to assisting Kwak'wala-speaking families. It is easier to work with the media, to broadcast for x minutes per day on radio or television (Fishman 1991:404). Nevertheless, it is the former activities that will lead to reversing language shift at stage seven, because it is only "in the family that a peculiar bond with language and language activities (conversation, games, stories, songs, proverbs and felicitous expressions, verbalized emotion, verbal ritual and verbal play) is fostered" (Fishman 1991:409).

The best way to focus on intergenerational transmission is by careful planning and steady work. It does not require huge expenditures. Large, flashy projects are not necessarily a short cut to language revival. In fact, unless they focus on enhancing intergenerational transmission, they can siphon off scarce resources and doom the project to failure.

At stage seven, language projects can fail with plentiful financial resources, and they can succeed with few financial resources. According to Fishman, the only resources required for successfully reviving Kwak'wala are initiative, intelligence, dedication, organizational ability and hard work. He writes, "The road to reversing language shift is a long and difficult one and most of this road must be paved with self-sacrifice. There is no other way, really" (1991:98). Stage seven is labor-intensive, rather than cost-intensive, and, as such, depends on the dedication, ability, and simple sweat and tears that can be mobilized by the Kwakwaka'wakw (Fishman 1991:111).

External funding should be used cautiously. It is dangerous for a language revival project to rely primarily on government funding from outside of the community. With funding comes control, and from the beginning it is crucial that the control be in the hands of the Kwakwaka'wakw. Many of the most successful efforts at reversing language shift rely primarily on enthusiastic volunteers. Fishman notes, "It is highly preferable for reversing language shift advocates to initially seek out those things that they themselves can do for the strengthening of their own language-in-culture, even without governmental...assistance..." (1991:82).

The Kwak'wala speaking elders living in Kwakwaka'wakw communities are the most valuable resource in reversing language shift—far more valuable than any modern gadget. Although elders may not be able to physically increase the number of Kwak'wala speakers (because they can no longer bear children), they can increase the number of speakers sociologically (by their social example and by means of social action) (Fishman 1991:90).

Activities involving the elders are useful for the purposes of reversing language shift only if they lead to intergenerational transmission. Fishman warns of being sidetracked by entertainment and education uses of Kwak'wala among the older generations (1991:91). Examples of this in Alert Bay are the Kwak'wala services at the Pentecostal Church and Kwak'wala hymn singing sessions at the Maya'an Elders' Center. These activities have some validity and serve to keep some people enthusiastic about Kwak'wala, but at the present they do nothing to re-establish Kwak'wala speaking families. On Monday morning, after the Kwak'wala service, Kwak'wala is in no better shape. Fishman calls such activities, "merely rallies of the 'last Mohicans'" (1991:397). As long as these activities are geared *to the elders only*, they will have little impact on the shift toward English. It is of critical importance to have activities like the ones described above to strengthen the links between elders and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. To do so, they must be linked to the ongoing, normal, daily family and community functions. In particular, they must be linked to the daily life of the children.

Regular visiting with elders in and of itself will not reverse language shift. The only real success will come through Kwak'wala immersion—by re-establishing young families of child-bearing age in which Kwak'wala is spoken, and/or re-establishing neighborhoods and communities where Kwak'wala is spoken .

At stage seven, questions about the correct usage of Kwak'wala should be deferred, and all resources should be spent on promoting opportunities to communicate in Kwak'wala—without undue attention to the "proper" form. Although "pure Kwak'wala" may be encouraged, people speaking broken Kwak'wala, Kwak'wala with a lot of English borrowings, or divergent dialects should not be made to feel embarrassed. A standard is advisable, but it does not pay to enforce one version of Kwak'wala before the communities are ready. The emotional cost brought on by infighting over these problems is far too high. It is best to save the energy for getting Kwak'wala into homes and communities. After this is accomplished, the matter of a standard may be looked at again, but it should be a flexible standard, not one which is rigidly enforced (Fishman 1991:350).

Another mistake language projects (particularly literacy projects) can make is to put too much emphasis on expanding vocabulary and domains of use too early on in the project. There are a lot of domains, such as computers, which are not served by the Kwak'wala language. There is the temptation to fill in new, modern domains immediately by coining new Kwak'wala words. After all, few people want to speak an old-fashioned language. An example of this feeling among the Kwakwaka'wakw was expressed the U'mista Planning Committee in 1991, "If new words are not developed to keep up with the modern world, then the language is dead". Although this is true, Fishman wonders about the, "advisability of *such* goals when the more foundational spheres—more foundational insofar as intergenerational mother tongue transmission is concerned—of family and community have not yet been safeguarded" (1991: 4, 5). There is also the danger of losing some of the uniqueness of the Kwak'wala language-in-culture by racing prematurely into new domains. For this reason, it is best to concentrate at first on those domains which

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Kwak'wala can now express the best. It is important to have, or create, some words which deal with daily modern Kwakwaka'wakw life, including the technology the people use in their everyday lives. However, if a language does not have terms to deal with all the aspects of the modern world, it is not dead; it merely has restricted domains of use. It must be kept in mind that English will probably always have a lead on Kwak'wala with regard to the modern vocabulary. At stage seven, Kwak'wala cannot be fully functional in all domains, nor does it need to be.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that Kwak'wala cannot be made suitable for serving new functions out of thin air. Coulmas explains it is less likely that the functional range of the language is first expanded and that language is then used to carry out the respective new functions than that it gradually becomes fit to serve new functions as a result of the speech community's desire to employ it for tasks that it used to carry out with other languages, or not at all (cited in Marshall 1994:27, 28). For example, if new Kwak'wala words having to do with office work are coined by some individual in isolation from a real office, they are not likely to be used by anyone. However, if a community of Kwak'wala speakers decides they want to use Kwak'wala instead of English in their office, Kwak'wala may gradually start replacing English in this domain and the community of speakers themselves will invent or borrow the words they need to conduct their work in Kwak'wala.

The reach of the planners should exceed the grasp, but the reach should not be totally unrealistic. Fishman cautions that unsuccessful reversing language shift efforts are often characterized by undertaking more than can be effectively sustained (1991:67). Planners must look at which domains are crucial to intergenerational language use continuity (Fishman 1991:86). It may be wise to concentrate on areas pertaining to the home at first, and slowly expand Kwak'wala into the domains of work, education, and so on. Fishman says, "Pinpointed goals must be focused upon first, goals that are oriented toward much smaller societal units such as families, clubs or neighborhoods, or to speaking (rather than writing), or to schools (rather than businesses), or to kindergartens (rather than high schools), etc." (1991:12). When Hebrew was resurrected, there was an emphasis on the spoken versus written language. When coining new words, the members of the Hebrew Language Academy began with carpentry and kitchen terms (Fishman 1991:13). The current state of Kwak'wala is rather emaciated, and many of the words have been lost. The long-term goal should be to strengthen Kwak'wala by increasing the number of words and contexts in which it is used. However, this must be done with careful planning, beginning with "lowly" goals—not in a haphazard manner.

The language reversal needs may vary from community to community. It may be that what needs to be done in Kingcome is different from what needs to be done in Alert Bay or Campbell River. The resources, abilities, and dialects may vary from community to community as well. Therefore, it is best to have each community make its own reversing language shift plan. Fishman writes, "Tailor-made efforts...permit more local input, elicit more local commitment and make better use of diverse local talent" (1991:86).

In reversing language shift, it is far better to have a few victories with regard to small goals, versus large failures in attempting grandiose but impossible goals (Fishman 1991:13). A slice of the pie is better than none. Success is a great motivator and failure is a great discourager. The Kwakwaka'wakw have seen few successes in reviving their language, and some victories would do a lot to boost morale and engender community support for Kwak'wala revival. The community's goals should be to do a few things well.

Fishman says we have not yet plumbed the depth of a language community (David Marshall, personal communication). This means that as long as there is more than one speaker of a language, there is the potential for a language community. A handful of committed Kwak'wala speakers could comprise a community. Arapaho has almost the same number of speakers as Kwak'wala, yet it has experienced something of a revival.

A Warning Against Relying on Education

The most common course of action taken by language revival projects is to go immediately to higher stages of Fishman's model—stages four and five, which have to do with education, before addressing the needs of the lower, foundational stages—stages that have to do with family, neighborhood, and community. Proper activities for the higher stages include the development of curriculum in Kwak'wala and the concentration on teaching literacy and other subjects in a school setting. It is attractive to target schools, because they are relatively easy to plan for and control; and it is customary to focus on teaching the language as a means of reviving it. An example of this misguided notion is a letter from the Kwakwaka'wakw chiefs which asserts, "We want to aim towards the day that our first language will be recognized for credit in high school and university, to ensure the continuation of our language in the mouths of our children" (Tri-Band chiefs 1992). Educational pursuits are important, but embarking on them before the foundations of the lower levels are laid does not result in success. In fact, "the efforts to maintain or revive a language can be nullified by racing too far ahead to levels not yet attainable" (Fishman 1991:111-114).

In North America there are many examples of language projects which have concentrated on developing curriculum prematurely. There are many Indian languages in Canada with well developed educational materials whose communities nevertheless are continuing to shift to English. Given the failure of school programs to reverse language shift, many Indian bands are backing away from school programs in discouragement.

In most reversing language shift projects, schools are the focal point. But how much can the schools be expected to do? Can they help children master Kwak'wala? Yes, but only with intensive and long term Kwak'wala programs such as Kwak'wala immersion.

Can school programs bring about intergenerational transmission by bringing Kwak'wala into the homes? Not by themselves. The truth is that projects that have focused on the schools alone have not succeeded in reversing language shift. This is because schools do not hold the key, rather homes and neighborhoods do.

Today, children begin school with zero ability to speak Kwak'wala. Even if there is a wonderful language program in the schools it is not likely to touch intergenerational transmission. If children do not learn Kwak'wala in their homes, they will continue to come to school with a zero ability to speak Kwak'wala. The language of the school does not automatically become the mother tongue of the next generation (Fishman 1991:374). Even if the children do learn Kwak'wala, they will shift to English when they leave school for the English-speaking community. Fishman notes the mastery of language attained by children will reach a plateau during the early elementary school years and then decline during adolescence (1991:363). So after they leave school and are ready to begin families of their own, their ability to speak Kwak'wala will likely have gone back to zero again. The conclusion is that education does not really successfully accomplish second language learning and language maintenance (Fishman 1992:398).

Presently, schools cannot really touch the most important point—mother tongue intergenerational transmission—because children arrive in school after they have already acquired their mother tongue, English. Education should not be the focus until after mother tongue transmission has been secured. The time to concentrate on a school program is after children have already acquired Kwak'wala in their homes.

Fishman points out that just as doctors cannot lead patients to the fountain of youth, so teachers cannot solve all of society's problems (1991:375, 369). Yet people continue to make teachers responsible for reversing language shift. Initially, teachers may be enthusiastic about the endeavor, and may feel they have the skills to do the job. The result of this dynamic is that the community becomes disgruntled with the teachers, who are not "doing their job"; and teachers who are involved in reversing language shift

frequently burn out. If Kwak'wala classes produce unsatisfactory results, the Kwak'wala educational system is blamed instead of the, "English-speaking society that defines it, warps it, starves it, threatens it, and then blames it for being unsuccessful" (Fishman 1992:398).

A case in point is the T'łisalagi'lakw School in Alert Bay, where two of the three Kwak'wala instructors are discouraged to the point of quitting. Flora Dawson, who was hired to do an evaluation of the school in 1992, noted that a common question asked by parents is, "How come the children have been taking Kwak'wala and by the eighth year they still just blurt out words...can't converse?" She suggested testing and evaluations can change this situation, but that is only part of the solution. Teachers do not have the strength, and schools do not have the resources to promote Kwak'wala by themselves.

It is important to train Kwak'wala speakers to become teachers, but this too must be done with a view toward intergenerational transmission. If the goal is not intergenerational transmission, training teachers may help the individuals, but it will not reverse the slide toward English. The teachers may well realize that there is more money to be made in the English-speaking world, and may join the mainstream.

Such was the result of the Kwak'wala Teacher Training Project, which was completed in May 1986. Eight of the nine students who completed the program went on to enroll toward a Bachelor of Education at Simon Fraser University. It was noted "Perhaps the greatest contribution of the KTTP was in giving the students enough confidence to take the Simon Fraser program, even though it meant that qualified people were absent from the community" (First Nations House of Learning 1989:22). Thus it did little to strengthen the Kwak'wala language, but rather, it led some potential leaders of a "back-to-Kwak'wala" movement further into English-speaking domains. This illustrates the ambivalence of education, and the danger of pursuing higher goals at stage seven. Historically, "education was the tool used to destroy Native languages" (U'mista 1991); and at stage seven, education can still be a double-edged sword, bringing more harm than good. Even in schools controlled by bands, the funding sources are outside of the Kwakwaka'wakw communities; so education is difficult for the Kwakwaka'wakw to control entirely. This is what Fishman warns: that education can orient speakers toward financial success via interaction with the English-speaking world (1991:102).

Teaching and learning Kwak'wala are very important but, "language learning and the intergenerational language-in-culture use that reversing language shift requires can be two quite separate and unconnectable things" (Fishman 1991:89). Also, if the educational system is not monitored closely, it will lead children away from the Kwak'wala-speaking community, and deeper into the English-speaking society. Teachers and students of Kwak'wala must be aware of these potential problems, and do their best to connect all language learning to a community where it can be used. Fishman says if schools are not dovetailed with home, neighborhood, and community, they are neither: "[a] guarantee nor even a prop for successful reversal or language shift" (1991:402).

With efforts at reversing language shift, there are frequently questions surrounding the form the language should take. If Kwak'wala is taught in school, these questions have to be addressed prematurely. There will be questions regarding the purity of the language: Should it be "high Kwak'wala", without English loan-words? What about the modern slang the younger speakers use? There will be questions of dialect: Should it sound like the people from Quatsino or Alert Bay? There will be questions of orthography: Should the U'mista orthography or the International Phonetic Alphabet be used? These questions can siphon off a lot of energy at the stage Kwak'wala is at, stage seven.

The Proper Role of Education

The educational system is a very important societal institution; it has children captive for many hours a day, for many years. Although schools are not well suited to attain the goals of reversing language shift at stage seven, they must not be ignored. If planned properly, education can make a contribution to reversing language shift; but it is crucial that all educational efforts be made with intergenerational

transmission in mind (Fishman 1991:103). Schools can initiate changes, "get the ball rolling", and thus support intergenerational transmission. If the goal is to revive Kwak'wala, the focus of an educational program should be to "Kwak'walize" the community's homes.

However, the students who may have learned Kwak'wala will soon forget it if there is not a family and a community for them to use it in. It is analogous to putting air in a tire that has a hole in it (Fishman 1991:95). At stage seven, a strategy for language learning is important, but even more important is a strategy for language retention outside the schools. There must be a reason to speak Kwak'wala outside of the school.

This being so, the educational system will serve the cause of reversing language shift best when Kwak'wala is reinforced before the children start school and after they have completed their schooling. Even if schools were to succeed today in the battle of teaching Kwak'wala, they would lose the war of language revival unless Kwak'wala were to become part of family life. Ideally, there must be an immersion environment outside the classroom. Fishman states, "Without considerable and repeated societal reinforcement schools cannot successfully teach either first or second languages and, furthermore, where such reinforcement is plentifully available, languages are acquired and retained even if they are not taught in school" (1991:371).

Teachers, students, and parents must have a close, positive relationship and share the same vision. The present lack of a common vision with the community forces schools to operate in a vacuum. As long as the community at large does not share the same vision as the educational institutions, the school's efforts will be frustrated.

This being the case, the adults too, must learn to speak, read, and write Kwak'wala. In fact, at stage seven, where communication in Kwak'wala is only taking place between elders, it is crucial that parents learn Kwak'wala along with their children. Fishman states that the major goal at stage seven is to gain a younger cohort of Kwak'wala as second language users, a cohort still sufficiently young to have children of its own and to implement Kwak'wala as the language of normal socialization (1991:90-91). They are the link between the elders and the children. If the children become fluent in Kwak'wala, but are not able to communicate with their parents, the vital intergenerational link will be missing.

Although the emphasis must be primarily on spoken Kwak'wala, it is desirable for all Kwakwaka'wakw to be able to read and write the language as well. In particular, it is important that adult Kwak'wala literacy go hand in hand with school programs providing Kwak'wala literacy for the children. In this way, the generations will be united through Kwak'wala literacy, rather than separated. Adult and child literacy can be a good way to strengthen the crucial intergenerational link.

In order for adult literacy to take place, there need to be easy-reading literacy materials and a dictionary. Presently there is a real lack of adult Kwak'wala literacy materials. The U'mista's primers are designed for children and Neville Lincoln's dictionary is not available. There is a short dictionary by Grubb, written in a different orthography than the U'mista's. Since indigenous people tend to be visual learners, literacy would be greatly enhanced with appropriate bilingual written material. Without helps like dictionaries, Kwak'wala literacy will progress very slowly, or not progress at all.

Relationship Between Education and Family/Community

The relationship between education and family/community can be clarified with an analogy comparing Kwak'wala to water. A sink filled with water could symbolize Kwak'wala speaking homes and communities. The faucet could symbolize the educational system, or any other means of learning the language. Humans could be symbolized by a can with holes in it. As long as the can is immersed in the water at the bottom of the sink, it is filled with water. As long as a human lives immersed in a Kwak'wala speaking home and community, he will continue to speak Kwak'wala. If the can is removed from the sink filled with water, the water will leak out. If an individual is removed from the Kwak'wala speaking home

or community, his fluency in the language will decrease. What happened after 1940 was that the plug was pulled from the sink, leaving a hole which drained the sink more quickly than the faucet could fill it—people stopped speaking Kwak'wala-only in their homes and in their communities. The sink slowly drained, and now it is empty.

Likewise, over the years, the Kwak'wala-speaking community shrunk to the point of oblivion. Although there are Kwak'wala speakers, there is no Kwak'wala speaking community. That is, there is no daily, predictable contact with other Kwak'wala speakers in specific domains. Williams writes that routine is a critical reinforcement factor in maintaining language skills; its absence or its unpredictability may have deleterious effects on fluency and on the cost-benefit analysis an individual may undertake to judge the efficacy of the effort he/she expends on Kwak'wala, particularly in anglicized context (cited in Coupland 1989:19-47). Today, the most important institution in which Kwak'wala is routinely spoken is in the potlatch. However, potlatches come only sporadically—every few months—and most Kwak'wa̲ka̲'wakw do not feel it is worth their efforts to learn a language that they would use so infrequently.

What is the best way to remedy the situation? Should the faucet be changed, so it can pour water more effectively into leaky cans? Should another faucet or two be added? Should more and better Kwak'wala teachers be trained? Should new curriculum be developed for the children? Or should the drain be plugged?

The above analogy reinforces the point that in order to revive Kwak'wala, the emphasis needs to be on the community and family first, and on education second. However, given that the educational system can play a role, and given that there are few other institutions that are willing to do anything about the problem of the demise of Kwak'wala, the following reversing language shift proposal will outline tasks for Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw families and communities as well as tasks for the educational institutions.

Proposed Role of Family/Community

Revival will happen only if everyone in the society links arms, and takes one step forward together. The entire community must be linked arm and arm with every Kwak'wala educational initiative.

The community must focus on the children. Since all but a handful of today's speakers of Kwak'wala are past child-bearing age, there is little possibility of raising children with Kwak'wala as their first language. However, even this problem can be overcome, as it was in New Zealand.

Children will not become speakers of Kwak'wala unless they hear that language spoken around them, unless they engage in activity in that language, for some considerable time each day. In previous generations, children heard Kwak'wala spoken around them continually in their own homes. As this is not the case today, the communities must re-create a Kwak'wala environment for them.

Modern times make it more difficult than ever to concentrate on getting Kwak'wala into the family. The number of two-parent families is decreasing; and of the two-parent families that remain, a growing number of them have both parents working full time. However, there is a silver lining to this state of affairs. It means that children are spending more and more time in daycares, and it is easier to Kwak'walize a daycare than it is to Kwak'walize one hundred homes.

The key ingredient to a successful Kwak'wala immersion daycare is enthusiastic parental involvement. The parents should be the ones running the daycares, and the daycares should be used to help make the parents bilingual in Kwak'wala. If the focus is only the daycares, and not the whole community, learning Kwak'wala in the daycares will be another case of putting air in a tire with a hole in it.

French immersion programs have shown that parental support is crucial to the success of school programs and daycares. There needs to be a system in place which encourages parents to speak

Kwak'wala to their children. In Ireland, parents are rewarded economically for speaking their endangered Irish language. Fishman writes, "Parents have been awarded a small annual sum for each of their children certified as Irish-speaking..." (1991:126). A similar economic incentive may work well for Kwak'wala.

The community must also target young families and teens who will soon begin families of their own. It may be helpful to have young Kwakwaka'wakw men and women take a practical language acquisition course, such as the one taught at the University of North Dakota, which will teach them a method to successfully learn Kwak'wala. Even more importantly, after the course is taken, they should enter into a Kwak'wala accountability relationship when they return to their village. They must somehow be kept motivated to continue to use their language learning skills to learn to speak, read, and write Kwak'wala.

Leanne Hinton's "Master-Apprentice" model may be implemented. The idea is to get young people (two to three years before usual age of childbearing) to live with the elders who are native speakers, exchanging assistance to the elderly for Kwak'wala immersion (either all day or for several hours per day) for at least a year or two (Joshua Fishman, personal communication).

In particular, young women should be targeted, because the mother's role in intergenerational transmission is far more determining than the father's (Fishman 1991:162). Fishman points out that during these early years, modern parents require birthing instruction, parenting instruction, child care provision and child health provision (1991:378). The communities should aim to provide services in Kwak'wala in all these areas. There should be all sorts of social support in Kwak'wala for adolescents and young families: social workers and counselors who speak Kwak'wala, Kwak'wala "healthy babies" groups and parent groups, and Kwak'wala drop-in centers for families.

Liz Taylor suggested that the Care Kit, the provincially mandated program for sexual abuse for schoolchildren, be translated into Kwak'wala (1992). With initiatives like these, not only could some current family problems be overcome, but a new generation of children will be raised immersed in the Kwak'wala language and culture.

At stage seven, the focus of the communities should be to increase fluency in Kwak'wala, and encourage everyone to communicate in the language. For every Kwak'wala speaker, there are probably four semi-speakers, aged from thirty to sixty. These people often feel ashamed of their own lack of mastery of Kwak'wala, and though they may understand the language well, many refuse to speak it. Leanne Hinton has suggested organizing a series of potlucks for semi-speakers, where they would speak only Kwak'wala without fear of ridicule (personal communication). Manno Taylor, a semi-speaker in Alert Bay, suggested a "Kwak'wala club" serving the same purpose. The whole community must link arms and make a move toward Kwak'wala, and the semi-speakers are an important spoke in the wheel.

Kwak'wala-speaking elders can play a very important role in changing the linguistic behavior of the community. They must be aware of their role and be kept happy, busy, and committed. Their role must be to keep talking Kwak'wala, supporting it emotionally and financially and via voluntary efforts (Fishman 1991:91). Elders can be an essential force to help re-establish the intergenerational language links, the very same links most of them let fall in the past when they ceased speaking only Kwak'wala to their children (Fishman 1991:236).

At present, communication in Kwak'wala can be compared to one slender strand, occurring only between elders. The aim of reversing language shift should be to turn this slender strand into a full web, in as many domains of individual and social life as possible. That is, the aim should be communication in Kwak'wala occurring between different groups of Kwakwaka'wakw, different generations, in different contexts.

The proposed goal for the communities should be to establish 24-hour Kwak'wala immersion in areas the Kwakwaka'wakw can control. "Kwak'wala safe zones" should be established: Kwak'wala youth groups, Kwak'wala young parent groups, Kwak'wala hobby groups, Kwak'wala clubs, Kwak'wala

daycares, Kwak'wala recreational centers, Kwak'wala resource centers, Kwak'wala trips, Kwak'wala housing clusters, and finally, entire communities which use and promote Kwak'wala. This goal requires a broad base of community support, because no single institution can accomplish this on its own.

It is a good idea for the community to begin promoting Kwak'wala immediately, starting out small. If there is strong support for modest goals, then the community can safely embark on more lofty goals. Initially, "...more advanced goals and governmental action are frequently ineffective, precisely because there is no grassroots community and neighborhood initiative, involvement, commitment and follow-through" (Fishman 1991:82).

Media in the Community

The community can take important steps in the realm of media to get people thinking and living in Kwak'wala. For example, it would be a good idea to put up Kwak'wala signs in as many locations as possible—streets, band offices, health centers, etc. The U'mista Cultural Centre puts out newsletters in Kwak'wala—also a good way to promote Kwak'wala. The Navajo students have their speeches and plays broadcast on tribe's 50,000 watt AM radio and on the school's low wattage television station (Reyhner 1989:108). It would be worthwhile to try to get more Kwak'wala on the radio and in this manner raise the prestige of the language. Possibly the Kwak'wala radio program with Sara Sampere could be reinstated. At some point in the future, after Kwak'wala is secure in the home, Kwak'wala on cable television might be used to reinforce the links between the generations of speakers, between mother and child. Traditional songs and dances would be well suited for media such as radio and television. To enhance the success of the program, Kwak'wala should be used in as many media as possible.

Modern expertise and technology can be useful if used correctly. Films could help reverse language shift if they focused on home, family, child, and youth material which could be copied and distributed for VCR cassette use in homes, community centers and schools (Fishman 1991:273). A Kwak'wala computer communication network could be useful for keeping in contact with Kwak'wala speakers in the various villages and cities throughout the British Columbia coast.

None of these ideas are directly related to reversing language shift at stage seven. That is, they do not stop people from communication in English, and as such, might be considered "mere tokenisms". This being the case, it is wise not to spend an inordinate amount of time and resources on such non-essentials. However, they create an atmosphere which gives Kwak'wala some prestige and exposure. This can be viewed as an important public relations strategy and can become the first step creating Kwak'wala speaking homes, neighborhoods, and communities.

Reinforcing Kwakwaka'wakw Solidarity

In order for Kwak'wala revival to take place, Kwakwaka'wakw solidarity is essential. Together, a whole generation must be willing to leave behind an existing way of life; and create a new one, of which Kwak'wala is a part.

One way this has been done is to actually move to a new location and start a new community where everyone speaks only Kwak'wala. The Jews used this model when they moved from Eastern Europe to Palestine. The Australian Aborigines have used this model when forming traditional outstation settlements.

Kwak'wala speakers could very quickly become the majority in a new community like this, but a word of caution: Almost all experimental communities set up expressly for the purpose of reversing language shift have failed (Fishman 1991:399). There would have to be a more compelling—possibly economic—reason to establish a community which spoke only Kwak'wala.

Another, less dramatic way to establish a Kwak'wala speaking community would be to move all the Kwak'wala speaking families to one neighborhood, where all the Kwak'wala activities take place. If this cannot be done, then there could be frequently scheduled outings to places like Knight Inlet (the spring oolichan grounds), the Nimpkish River, and abandoned villages. These outings could provide opportunity for Kwak'wala instruction, informal Kwak'wala speaking, and acculturation for the new Kwak'wala-speaking families.

The struggle for Kwak'wala will never end. Care must be taken to continually suppress the use of English in Kwakwaka'wakw homes and communities. Like the Israelis who resolved to speak only Hebrew among themselves, Kwak'wala must be learned at the mother's knee and used in the Kwakwaka'wakw communities, English must be learned as a second language and used only when visiting non-Kwakwaka'wakw communities. However, English will always remain a threat that must not be allowed to encroach on Kwak'wala space.

Whatever the method chosen, the result must be to establish a fortress around the Kwak'wala speaking families. Mixed marriages almost always open the gate to the fortress, and allow the shift to English to happen in the home. It is only by having strong, well-protected Kwak'wala-speaking families and communities that Kwak'wala has a chance of surviving in the long run. This concept must remain at the center of all Kwak'wala revival efforts. A successful language revival plan will have real life, real results, and real societal impact through Kwak'wala. It is the only way to patch the hole in the tire. If the hole is not patched, if Kwak'wala-speaking families are not established, then any Kwak'wala educational efforts will not succeed.

Even after the hole is patched, and intergenerational transmission is secured, that patch must be watched continually. It is likely the Kwakwaka'wakw will be bilingual, but English must not be allowed to encroach again into those crucial areas of Kwakwaka'wakw families, neighborhoods, and communities.

As long as Kwakwaka'wakw speak English, the status of Kwak'wala will not be entirely safe. Paulston points out that "[t]he norm for groups in prolonged contacts within one nation is for the subordinate group to shift to the language of the dominant group, either over several hundred years...or over the span of three generations" (quoted in Lasimbang, Rita, Carolyn Miller, and Francis Otgil 1992:337, 338).

The revival of Kwak'wala will involve the difficult task of reforming the entire society—which includes abandoning some non-indigenous patterns and replacing them with Kwakwaka'wakw ones. However, a language restoration project need not be backward-looking (Fishman 1991:17). Indeed, Kwak'wala must be updated to face the twenty-first century. The core vocabulary has changed in the past century. This process of modernizing the language can go hand in hand with Kwak'walizing modern services, such as having Kwak'wala child care and health care. A revival will work best with a combination of old and new ideas, taking the best from English and Kwakwaka'wakw society. A common slogan of the Australian outstation settlements is "two ways" or "both ways", which implies that it is not total isolation from the modern world that is desired, but, rather, an ability to retain that which is selected from the traditional alongside that which is adopted from the outside; and to do both under community control (Fishman 1991:261).

It is crucial that the Kwakwaka'wakw take even more control of their communities. The shift from Kwak'wala to English did not occur in a vacuum; it occurred in an atmosphere where the whole traditional culture was being eroded. There were reasons for people to shift from Kwak'wala to English. As long as these reasons remain, people will continue to speak only English. Reversing language shift will not succeed if the focus is solely on Kwak'wala. Language shift "must be part of a greater effort at economic political, social, and particularly economic and educational mobilization" (Marshall 1994:23). The goal cannot be Kwak'wala alone. It could be something like creating better communities—through Kwak'wala. By focusing on the young, the old, the sick, the poor and the neglected, the Kwak'wala

revival effort will naturally address redistribution of wealth and power in the community. Just as Kwak'wala was lost in an atmosphere where the whole Kwakwaka'wakw culture was being eroded, it can only be revived in an atmosphere where a culture is being re-built, and where power is being restored to the people.

Proposed Role of Education

Once Kwak'wala is safe in the community, the focus of the language revival project can shift to education. Although education will play a role right from the beginning, it can only be a small role. It is only after the other community structures are in place that education can make a significant impact on reversing language shift.

The role of education is secondary in reversing language shift, both in chronology and importance. However, it is still an important and worthwhile endeavor to plan to educate all Kwakwaka'wakw in Kwak'wala.

Kwak'wala Preschool Education

The Maoris realized that the best age-group with which to start a language revival is with the preschool age. "A meeting of Maori leaders, sponsored by the Department of Maori Affairs in 1981, suggested the establishment of all-Maori-language preschools groups, in which older Maoris, fluent speakers of the language, would conduct the programmes and make up for the fact that the majority of Maori parents could no longer speak their language" (Spolsky 1990:123). The Maoris named these preschool groups "kohanga reos" or "language nests". "The effect of the kohanga reos cannot be exaggerated, where six years ago a bare handful of children came to primary school with any knowledge of the Maori language, now each year between 2000 and 3000 children, many of them fluent bilinguals, start school after having already been exposed to daily use of the Maori language for three or more years" (Spolsky 1990:123).

To duplicate this success in the North Vancouver Island area, language nests would have to be implemented fairly quickly, before the critical number of Kwak'wala speakers drops too low. The local community should be in charge of organizing and implementing these Kwak'wala immersion preschools.

The schedule of the program is not extremely important. What will bring about success is if the preschools are conducted only in Kwak'wala, and if they run for a considerable time each day.

The elders and the Kwakwaka'wakw with expertise in early childhood education would be responsible for working out the preschool schedule. There should be slightly more structure than a regular daycare, and the types of activities that could be included are: free play; reading Kwak'wala stories and telling stories in Kwak'wala using flannelgraph figures; Kwak'wala singing (traditional songs and children's songs); walking to the beach; eating; playing inside with puzzles, playdough, blocks, animal figures, making paper airplanes, paper play; and practicing Native art.

The preschool immersion program is the simplest to implement, but it is the most crucial to language revival. The goal of language revival is to get children to learn Kwak'wala in their own homes. Since this is unlikely to happen today, the preschool immersion program attempts to simulate a Kwak'wala home environment.

Kwak'wala Primary and Secondary Education

With the success of the Kwak'wala language preschools, there will be an incentive for the primary, and later, secondary schools to work on an immersion program to enable the children to continue learning in Kwak'wala.

Spolsky (1991:123) notes there are two principles of equal education: (1) Every child has the right to be educated in the language he speaks at home. At the very least, his home language should be fully respected in the school in which he is educated. This right was violated in St. Michael's residential school, which contributed to the demise of Kwak'wala. (2) Furthermore, every individual or group has the right to do whatever is possible to preserve or strengthen the language that has important ethnic, traditional, and cultural values for them. As these principles were violated in the past, the government has a moral obligation to support Kwak'wala language renewal.

At stage seven, one of the things schools can do is influence children's attitudes toward Kwak'wala by teaching about Kwakwaka'wakw culture and history, and by promoting the Kwak'wala language. For example, at the T'łisalagi'lakw School, there are signs in Kwak'wala everywhere. This is a good move, because it familiarizes the students early on with the language. It may be helpful to print T'łisalagi'lakw School report cards in Kwak'wala, too.

The administrators of the T'łisalagi'lakw School in Alert Bay have expressed a desire to turn it into a Kwak'wala immersion school. One method proposed is to hire someone to develop Kwak'wala curriculum for grade one, then two, and so on, until all the grades have Kwak'wala curriculum.

However noble the intentions, there are serious problems with this model. First of all, the fact that people in Alert Bay have shifted to English is not just a problem of the school, it is a societal problem. As such, it cannot be solved by the school.

Also, although the idea of immersion beginning at grade one is good, there is the problem of finding Kwak'wala speaking teachers. Most Kwak'wala speakers are at least in their late fifties, and there are none with teaching certificates. The Maoris solved a similar problem by setting up teaching teams, where the teacher was helped by a fluent Maori-speaking kaiarahi reo (language assistant) (Spolsky 1990:125). This language assistant would not only help the pupils, she would also help the teachers become more fluent in Kwak'wala.

There are teacher training programs available, such as the First Nation Language Teacher Certification. Fluent Kwak'wala speakers should be encouraged to attend, and graduates would make ideal language assistants. The funding sources would have to be persuaded that the role of language assistant is essential. The provincial government has a language and culture grant that is available through the superintendent of the school district (U'mista 1991). Accessing funds like these could help the cause of Kwak'wala revival via the schools. There would have to be the cooperation of various levels of the educational system in order to fund a Kwak'wala language assistant who would work alongside the certified teacher. It is important that there be good, harmonious working relationship between the two team members, so that both students and teachers find this immersion program a rewarding experience.

There could also be subsidies and programs to encourage teachers to become fluent in Kwak'wala. In particular, teachers should be encouraged to participate in Kwak'wala adult immersion programs. Another way to develop a pool of Kwak'wala speaking teachers is to teach them Kwak'wala two days a week after school. After three years at this steady pace, the teachers should be at a level where they can teach their classes in Kwak'wala.

The emphasis in the schools should be on spoken Kwak'wala, for that is the traditional form of the language, and the key to reviving it in everyday use. The goal must be for Kwak'wala to become the language of instruction within the next few years. As part of the overall plan, students could learn to give speeches and act in Kwak'wala. Kwak'wala language class, traditional singing, and dancing should be the first areas to be Kwak'walized, followed by other subjects such as reading and arithmetic.

Together with the lack of Kwak'wala speaking teachers, the lack of Kwak'wala teaching material also poses a problem. One solution would be to apply for funding for a Kwak'wala teaching material project. This project would employ a group of people with expertise in teaching, and another group with

expertise in Kwak'wala, who would produce Kwak'wala teaching materials such as tests for the lower grades. The material would pertain to a variety of subjects—not just the Kwak'wala language.

There is another way to produce Kwak'wala material which does not depend as heavily on the whims of government funding. In Arizona the teachers themselves have produced many of the literacy materials needed for Navajo education program (Reyhner 1989:108). Maori teachers also are active in preparing their own material, some of which is modeled on English as a second language books (Spolsky 1990:126). The best way to guarantee continuity of the Kwak'wala school program is to have the teachers continually work on producing new teaching material in Kwak'wala.

The students, especially in the higher grades, can also be instrumental in producing material. The Navajo students both at primary and secondary level write for a newspaper, and write booklets that become reading material for the classes that follow (Reyhner 1989:108). Students can be encouraged to write in Kwak'wala in community newspapers, like the *Musgamagw Tsawataineuk Tribal Council Newsletter*, which can be used by other students. It may also be a good idea to produce a school newsletter in Kwak'wala, with contributions from students and staff. Students can be taught to type in Kwak'wala in computer class, which can stimulate the production of reading material even further. The beauty of this type of material is that it is not merely a translation of something originally written in English—it is original.

Although spoken Kwak'wala is crucial to the success of the program, written Kwak'wala also plays an important role. It is only through the production of literature that Kwak'wala can successfully become established as the language of instruction in school, and it is only through literacy that the Kwak'wala language can be maintained in the future. Fishman writes, "Unless they are entirely withdrawn from the modern world, minority ethnolinguistic groups need to be literate in their mother tongue (as well as in some language of wider communication)..." (1980:169). For this reason, considerable effort must go into resource development. An ultimate goal should be to construct a Kwak'wala library. Also, as much Kwak'wala literature as possible should be distributed to the homes so the parents can also benefit.

The instruction style in the Kwak'wala school program would be different from English. In Navajo schools, hands-on instruction and experimental approaches are used at the elementary level because they lend themselves to adaptation by teacher for Navajo language instruction more readily than exclusively textbook approaches (Reyhner 1989:108, 109). As indigenous people tend to be visual learners, a hands-on or experimental approach would probably be more successful in a Kwak'wala immersion situation. Oral-based learning, such as using books with no words, may also be effective. Flora Dawson has also translated various songs into Kwak'wala and she uses the songs, music, and actions as a teaching tool (Taylor 1992). Keeping these alternate instructional styles in mind will make the programs quite effective with Kwakwaka'wakw children.

The atmosphere of the classroom should reinforce the identity of the students. It should boost the self-esteem of all Kwakwaka'wakw involved—pupils, teachers, parents, and other adults. Ideally, the classroom could be filled with material in Kwak'wala, on the walls and on the bookshelves, prepared by the teacher and pupils. The students could also have a hand at drawing, carving, and decorating the classroom with traditional art. Being surrounded by visual reminders of the culture could strengthen the program by making the students see and feel their connection to the Kwak'wala language. Fishman suggests that schools not be seen as agencies for the transmission of neutral knowledge, but should represent Kwakwaka'wakw "cultural space" (1991:100).

The content of the classes should also relate to Kwakwaka'wakw culture. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, the children should learn about their family background, about tribal protocol, philosophy, crafts, etc. The best place to learn about the latter subjects may not be at the school at all. The Yiprinya school in Australia is famous for its weekly excursions to the bush, and its Aboriginal curricular content taught by uncertified, elderly Aboriginal teachers (Fishman 1991:266-267). A lot of the students'

familiarization with Aboriginal lore occurs on these expeditions. Kwak'wala language-in-culture may also be best acquired in the bush, on the beach, or on a boat.

Translating volumes of material woodenly from English is not the best approach. There are techniques which can be learned by observing the French immersion programs, but they too, cannot be copied indiscriminately. The goal should not be to duplicate non-Kwakwaka'wakw schools in Kwak'wala.

It is important that the school(s) with a Kwak'wala immersion program be locally controlled, based on the local philosophy and mind-set. Without the strong support of the parents and other decision makers of the community, the program will not succeed. The renewal of Kwak'wala cannot be imposed from above; it must rise from the grassroots level.

Initially, the immersion program may only be possible for the first grade, but with time and better resources it may be extended to higher levels.

At some point, English may have to be introduced into the curriculum because of lack of Kwak'wala materials. At that point, the school becomes bilingual, and the pull toward English will become stronger. The pull toward English will also strengthen as children begin succeeding in school. At that point, they may get a clearer picture that financial success comes through interaction with the English speaking world and they may become more English oriented (Fishman 1991:102). Because of this tendency, the Kwakwaka'wakw communities must continually evaluate their educational program, to ensure that it is reinforcing the intergenerational Kwak'wala link between parents and children.

Current Progress at the T'łisalagi'lakw School

The introduction of Kwak'wala into the T'łisalagi'lakw School in Alert Bay has already begun. Already there is preschool Kwak'wala immersion, half a day kindergarten mostly in Kwak'wala, and half an hour per day of Kwak'wala for grades one to seven. In the spring of 1997, the school began playing a gradually expanding audiotape at designated times each day throughout the entire school. The tape consists of the simple words and phrases the teachers and students are learning in their classes. It was repeated three times in Kwak'wala, then translated into English.

Beginning in the fall of 1997, each class will set aside one hour a day for Kwak'wala immersion. The students and teachers will spend one hour silently doing work—reading, math, etc. If there is any conversation at all, it must be in Kwak'wala. In the fall, this hour will be fairly silent, but by the summer of 1998 there will be quite a bit more Kwak'wala conversation occurring.

Beginning in the fall of 1998, each class will set aside two hours a day for Kwak'wala immersion—probably the entire afternoon. By then, the teachers will begin to feel comfortable doing some instruction in Kwak'wala. By the summer of 1999, as teachers continue learning Kwak'wala they will be able to give increasingly clear teaching for the two hours of Kwak'wala immersion.

Beginning in the fall of 1999, each class will set aside three hours a day for Kwak'wala immersion. The teachers themselves will pick which subject they will teach in Kwak'wala. As the teacher's fluency in Kwak'wala increases, it will become easier for them to create Kwak'wala curriculum and translate material from English. They will also be able to more effectively use the material that has already been developed in Kwak'wala. So by the fall of 2000, the entire T'łisalagi'lakw School will be a Kwak'wala immersion school.

Kwak'wala education of children is important because the key to language revival lies with the children and youth. One goal of immersion programs is to produce children who speak Kwak'wala so fluently, they will feel comfortable speaking it with their spouses when they start their own families. Another goal is to get these future parents to raise their children speaking Kwak'wala as their first

language. When children begin acquiring Kwak'wala at home again, Kwak'wala will have been restored to the state it was in the 1940's, and the language revival project will have succeeded.

Kwak'wala Adult Education

In order for Kwak'wala education to have a long-lasting effect on the children, there must also be subsidized adult Kwak'wala classes with an immersion component available to all Kwakwaka'wakw. Since most adults have other responsibilities, their programs need to be carefully designed to accommodate their schedules. It is very important to create opportunities where adults are learning Kwak'wala concomitantly with the children, because adults are the only ones who can keep alive the generational link between the Kwak'wala-speaking elders and children.

Dawson speaks about the need to add zip and spice to arouse interest at all levels (Planning Report 1992). In order to make an adult program interesting, there must be a lot of planning and preparation on the part of the teachers and students.

The teachers must plan a variety of learning activities. To learn interesting teaching techniques, it would be good to have fluent Kwak'wala speakers involved in semi-formal teacher training programs. Another avenue that should be explored is for non-Kwak'wala-speaking Kwakwaka'wakw to take a second language acquisition course, to learn effective language learning and teaching methods.

An adult immersion course would begin with the prospective students being given some information and some work to do which will facilitate the shift into a Kwak'wala immersion situation. Maori immersion programs for adults, similar to the one outlined below, have been in place in New Zealand since 1979. Before Maori immersion courses, students are expected to spend 10 - 12 hours on activities like collecting phrases to help them survive in Maori (Nicholson 1989:119). Prospective students are also expected to stay in the course for its entire length, and not leave unless there are exceptional circumstances. Giving information and 10 - 12 hours of homework beforehand will help the course run more smoothly and will ensure only serious students are admitted.

In order to make students feel comfortable, a course aimed at adults should be egalitarian in nature. All involved share an interest in reviving Kwak'wala. Everyone—students, teachers, and administrators—should share the same food and accommodations. The people in the community who are not in the course should also be involved in helping reinforce the ban on English. The immersion course should not be viewed as a competition, but as a cooperative effort.

Adult students should be expected to take responsibility for their own learning. They have to organize themselves and cannot rely solely on the teachers. There should be plenty of learning opportunities for the students, both structured and unstructured. Early on in the course, the teachers should inform the students of the various possible ways they can maximize their time and learn the most Kwak'wala. Elders should be on hand to answer questions. A lot of learning can take place during informal chats with teachers and students. The pupils also have to organize themselves so that they do not study too much. They need time for exercise and sleep, so they don't burn out or fall asleep during classes. In short, it is largely up to the students themselves to make the most of this opportunity to learn Kwak'wala.

An ideal Kwak'wala immersion course would be only six days long. Beginning on Monday afternoon, there would be a time when the course philosophy and organization is explained in English so that people know what is going to happen during the week. A short list of rules would be discussed. Then, on Monday night a self-imposed ban would be put on English, and only Kwak'wala would be spoken. The ban would be lifted on the following Friday night, and Saturday morning would be spent cleaning up and having a debriefing session where the students could say how they felt about the course. The course would conclude at noon with a graduation ceremony and lunch. These time frames—from Monday

afternoon to Saturday afternoon—would better accommodate people coming from other Kwak'wala speaking communities.

The planned learning activities would take place between 9:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M., with appropriate lunch, supper, and coffee breaks. Every hour or so there would be a change of activity and/or change of classroom. Living in a retreat situation and speaking only Kwak'wala can be exhausting, so adequate time for rest and refreshment must be set aside.

The ideal size of a class would be twelve people. This would allow for sufficient student interaction, but would not be overwhelming.

The class time itself should be spent in a variety of ways. One way would be to spend time listening to elders, with a lot of lecture-type presentations. Media like the Kwak'wala radio broadcast by Sara Sampere could also be used. The approach would make good use of the traditional knowledge of the elders. This is a good method, because students benefit from listening to a language.

Other approaches involve more interaction between students and teachers, and between students and students. These classes could be based on applied linguistics, second language acquisition, and teaching English as a second language models. In Canada, many immigrants arrive with no knowledge of English, and learn to speak through English-as-a-second-language classes. The teachers in these classes are trained to use a variety of approaches which have been proven effective in teaching English. The most effective ones are the ones with the hands-on approach. These same methods could be incorporated into Kwak'wala immersion courses.

There needs to be a variety of activities and teaching styles to maintain the interest of the students. The courses should have a balance of listening (lecture-type presentations), talking (small group activities and speeches), doing (total physical response activities, such as when the teacher tells you to touch your nose and you do), and writing (literacy).

Kwak'wala learning in an immersion setting should not be restricted to the classroom. Students should also help with the work. There should be various jobs that need to be done—helping in the kitchen, setting and clearing the table, cleaning the bathrooms, sweeping, etc. For each job there should be a list of activities written down on a chart in Kwak'wala, and hung on the wall. The students should be divided into support groups which rotate from job to job. The groups should be composed of people who are at different levels in their Kwak'wala ability, so that the less competent can learn from the more advanced, and so the advanced learn to lead. These real life activities give the students a chance to learn new vocabulary, and put Kwak'wala into real life situations.

Each student should be working toward a short speech in Kwak'wala at the end of the course, because giving speeches is an especially appropriate domain of Kwak'wala. The class may decide to give the speeches at the graduation ceremony, or at some other time. Some suggested topics could include a description of a potlatch, church service, or other gathering the students have been to recently. More advanced students could tell a short story, or talk about local, national, or international issues. In this way, Kwak'wala should move into subjects that were only discussed in English before. Thus, the immersion course should not only increase the number of Kwak'wala speakers, it should also increase the subjects or domains in which Kwak'wala is used. There is a lot of work and learning involved in this activity. The teachers should help and the student should practice his speech until it is just right. The speech is a good project because it involves reading and writing as well as memorizing and speaking.

The activities should be kept at the level of the students, and be consistent with their interests. Nicholson describes some which are used in the Maori immersion: church services, readings and discussions on the Bible, traditional singing, debating, and small group activities (1989:119, 121, 122). Some groups may want to study the two Gospels translated into Kwak'wala, as well as hymns and other religious literature. Some may want to plan and conduct a short church service in Kwak'wala. There are also many traditional Kwak'wala songs which students may want to learn. Even though the emphasis of

the course is on speaking, students should receive some training in writing Kwak'wala. It is most important that students also learn how to talk about everyday activities, such as going to the bathroom and eating.

A combination of methods and activities would work best. Students may tire of one single style, and variety makes the courses more lively.

The Maoris realized it is important for the students to feel refreshed spiritually, mentally, and physically during the course (Nicholson 1989:122). To attain this goal, they start and end each day with prayer, and have church services every morning. Nicholson, who has organized many immersion courses, notes the whole tone of the courses has improved with the strengthening of spirituality (1989:119).

Like the Maoris, the Kwakwaka'wakw are spiritual people. It would be wise to have an immersion program that would give the students a chance to work on their spirituality. In this way, they would get more than just a better knowledge of Kwak'wala; they would get a better knowledge of God, and thus leave the course strengthened in more ways than one.

To address the physical side, the Maoris have daily group exercises after their morning church services. They also have some sports equipment, so the students play games in Maori. Rangi Nicholson, a veteran of many Maori immersion courses, remembers, "At one course, we invented language for playing softball. It was hilarious!" (quoted in Reyhner 1989:122). Imagine playing soccer in Kwak'wala! Moving around from class to class, and doing a work duty is also part of the plan to give a balance to the course. Addressing the physical needs of the students can make the learning experience much more fruitful and enjoyable.

It is expedient to imitate the Maori model in a Kwak'wala immersion course, because it is a model that has been tried and found successful. The students should be encouraged to work on the spiritual, emotional and physical areas of their life while they are in the course. It is good for students to get Kwak'wala in their minds, but it is best for them to immerse their whole beings in the language. It is a time when students not only strengthen their language, but strengthen themselves so that they can go out into the world as stronger people.

The key is Kwak'wala immersion. Constant exposure to Kwak'wala—whatever the venue—will achieve the desired result of increasing the students' knowledge of the language. Much of the learning comes through struggling to understand. Second language acquisition expert Greg Thomson has talked about the teachable moment in language acquisition, when, after struggling to express a concept in the language one is learning, the right word is finally obtained (personal communication). Words are more clearly etched into the mind in these "eureka" moments. Effective teaching should try to facilitate as many teachable moments as possible. This way, students will find themselves understanding more and more Kwak'wala as they are exposed to, and struggle with, more and more of the language.

Another factor to keep in mind is what Greg Thomson (personal communication) calls the "laugh ratio" . That is, the more laughter there is, the more learning is taking place. Some feel that learning a language is serious business, and a lot of hard work. In fact, speaking a language one does not know very well is funny. Students should expect not to sound "cool" speaking Kwak'wala. Mistakes are nothing to be embarrassed or frustrated about. In fact, they can be the source of a lot of laughter. On the other hand, it is important to laugh with a person, rather than laugh at a person. Although some work is required for the course, the most effective language learning is fun.

Another useful concept is that of an "affective filter", which is the stress a person feels when learning a language. The more tension one feels, the more effective the affective filter is, and the less Kwak'wala filters into the brain. An experiment was done in the University of Michigan on two groups of fifty students each. One group drank one-and-a-half ounces of vodka, and the other was sober. Both groups were given the same Thai words to pronounce. At the end, the ones who were mildly intoxicated did significantly better at pronouncing Thai, because they felt less tension (Brown 1991:32, 33). The same

phenomenon can be observed today in Alert Bay, with people who speak more Kwak'wala when they are intoxicated.

The fact that students are in a Kwak'wala-only environment will be stressful. Nicholson notes that in the first Maori-immersion courses: "Courses were long and the hours were long... Sometimes an elder could be speaking at three in the morning. Many people left feeling mental and physical wrecks" (Reyhner 1989:117). With good organization and a varied program, students need not feel this way after participating in a Kwak'wala immersion program.

The ban on English is an integral part of the course. Both students and visitors should speak only in Kwak'wala. The Maoris have it in their booklet, and have a large notice near the entrance to the marae to remind people—"Maori language Zone." Tapes are all right as long as they are playing Kwak'wala music—and only Kwak'wala is being listened to. However, the ban should not make the students fearful. They should have time to prepare for the ban before they take the course, and if they slip up and use English, there should be no repercussions. If there is a critical situation, English may be used. However, students must try at all times to communicate with their Kwak'wala, as limited as it may be.

The imposition of the ban on Monday night should be a semi-formal event. It could be a ceremony in a community hall, or it could be part of a church service.

People from the surrounding community should be invited to the ceremony, because without their support it would be very difficult to get along only in Kwak'wala. To maintain an environment of immersion, it is helpful for the students to carry cards explaining they are permitted to speak only Kwak'wala for the week. This card may be shown to shopkeepers or anyone else who is not aware of the immersion program. With the cooperation of the villagers, the English ban can be maintained in almost any situation. Nicholson tells of a funeral in the middle of a total immersion course. The locals encouraged the students to help them prepare food for the funeral without resorting to English (Reyhner 1989:123).

The lifting of the ban on Friday night should also be a semi-formal event. It can be a joyous occasion when people relax and let off steam. The Maoris, who enjoy music, usually celebrate the event with a concert in English, or Maori, or both (Nicholson 1989:123). Kwakwaka'wakw people also enjoy music, and singing is a good, enjoyable way to celebrate Kwak'wala.

The interest of the adults would determine when, and how frequently, these courses would be held. As the courses prove successful, and as adults actually learn to speak Kwak'wala through them, they should be held more and more frequently. Since they require so much planning, the goal may be initially to hold one course per year. It would likely be best to have courses in the winter, when there are fewer other activities and distractions.

The best location for these courses is debatable. Some may prefer a retreat setting in some remote area such as Knight Inlet or Village Island, where it would be easier to maintain the ban on English. There are also advantages in having the course in a village, because it would not pose the same transportation problems and would give access to modern office equipment. This emphasis on a retreat model may limit the number of places with suitable accommodations. In Alert Bay, it may be possible to use the Namgis Treatment Centre when it is not in session and use the old T'lisalagi'lakw School buildings for classrooms. Wherever they are held it is important that the students and teachers all live together for the week to provide an immersion environment.

After the students finish the course and learn Kwak'wala, there may be some reluctance to go back to English and a desire to continue learning Kwak'wala. At this point, it is possible to plan another course which builds on the first level. Eventually, there could even be three courses, all at different levels, held simultaneously. This would be a more efficient use of the facilities and the elders' time than having three separate courses.

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The first courses should be more experimental and unstructured in nature. As the teachers and students become more fluent, and as the problems are worked out of the courses, they should become more structured. Later students should come expecting a variety of different teaching approaches that have been proven successful.

It is a good idea to give the first year students a timetable for the following week. A schedule gives them the security of a predictable environment, which may lower their affective filter, so they feel less stress and learn more Kwak'wala. As the students become more confident and competent, schedules become less important and less rigid. However, they should never be disregarded entirely, because, without clear direction, the students may flounder.

A well thought out timetable should provide a variety of activities to ensure maximum amount of learning for the students. Each day should be divided into three sections: morning, afternoon, and evening. There should be a maximum of eight one-hour sessions each day. The sessions could be anything from lectures in Kwak'wala to cleaning the toilets in Kwak'wala. The one-hour time frame is only a guideline.

The time between 1:00 and 5:00 is when everyone is most lethargic. For this reason, it is best to schedule more vigorous, lively language learning activities such as singing and dancing in the two sessions immediately after lunch. It would also be profitable to give the students some free time in the afternoon, between 3:00 and 5:00. During this time, students can relax, look at the materials they have written down in class, prepare for their end of the week speech, etc. This type of careful planning and scheduling can maximize the effectiveness and enjoyment of the course.

There must always be a balance between structure and flexibility. The reason for structure—to lower student stress and to minimize wasted time—must always be kept in mind, so that structure is not in place for its own sake. This means that the program must be constantly in flux, evaluated by students, teachers, and elders after every course, with appropriate changes made. After the evaluation, it would be wise to produce a new outline and timetable for the next course, because a well-thought-out program makes the best use of limited time, and lack of planning will result in lack of learning.

Part of the evaluation process is deciding on a list of tasks that students should be able to do after the first course, and the second, and the third. These could include being able to answer questions on the potlatch, making speeches, singing traditional songs, or helping out in preschool Kwak'wala immersion. There could also be some core vocabulary that students should be familiar with after each course.

After students attend a number of these immersion courses, they should be ready to organize their own course. In this way, members of other communities could become Kwak'wala teachers in their own villages and schools. Local students who have become proficient at Kwak'wala could become tutors in the immersion courses in their own community. The effectiveness of the programs will be multiplied by training Kwak'wala teachers.

Eventually it may be possible to take these courses for university credit. Some institutions which could be approached to grant accreditation include: University of British Columbia, University of Victoria, Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (an indigenous peoples' college), Malaspina College, and North Island College. University accreditation would provide an added incentive for more students to sign up for the courses. However, the push to get Kwak'wala accepted by universities should not take place until Kwak'wala is very secure in the Kwakwaka'wakw families and communities, in the elementary schools, in the workplace, and even in the media. If Kwak'wala is recognized prematurely in the universities, it will entice the Kwakwaka'wakw into English speaking domains.

The immersion courses should be open to everyone, but certain groups should have priority. First priority should be given to the inhabitants of the village where the immersion program is held. Second priority should be given to any other Kwakwaka'wakw. If there is still room, it can be open to anyone who is interested. These groups are prioritized for a good reason. There is very little time left for the

Kwak'wala language, and these efforts should be channeled in a way that will revive the language most quickly. The courses are locally designed, so it makes sense to target people from the local Kwakwaka'wakw community. They are the people most likely to use Kwak'wala after the course is over. It also is expedient to target others from Kwakwaka'wakw villages because they are the ones who are likely to take away some organizational ideas and set up their own immersion programs.

However, there are difficulties to overcome. For example, the notion of Maori people is essentially a European one. Maori loyalty is actually to their own tribal or *iI* affiliation, and the *ii* dialect (Spolsky 1990:129). A similar difficulty may arise with Kwak'wala. Adults from different villages may not be willing to accept exactly the same ways of writing and speaking Kwak'wala. One way to overcome this is to emphasize local control over all the programs. Each village should feel free to plan its own immersion program. If a central language organization takes part, it should only do so in an advisory capacity.

The Community/School Dichotomy and the Five Essentials

Examination of many language projects in chapter II led to the conclusion that they all shared five essential characteristics: large population, a sense of solidarity, an immersion environment, literacy, and the language in media. The proposal in this chapter has touched on how and in what order the community, families, and schools could work on these essentials.

For a language project to begin successfully, an overwhelming majority of the Kwakwaka'wakw population must feel a strong sense of ethnicity and solidarity. This foundational essential cannot be laid by the school; it must be a community endeavor. The Kwakwaka'wakw families must be willing to do the work and pay the price necessary to maintain and revive Kwak'wala.

The next essential element, creating an immersion environment, must also fall primarily under community control. The community must lead the way in establishing Kwak'wala-only zones, homes, and neighborhoods. The schools could begin Kwak'wala immersion classes before the community is entirely Kwak'wala speaking, but classes will not have lasting results unless students receive reinforcement in their homes.

Once Kwak'wala immersion environments are created and stabilized, some of the focus can turn to the schools and to literacy. The Kwakwaka'wakw should not only know how to read and write Kwak'wala, they should actually do so regularly. It is here that the community continues to play a crucial role. Although teachers can teach people how to read and write Kwak'wala, it take a whole community to create the opportunities for people to use these skills on a daily basis.

The last essential element addressed in this chapter is the matter of Kwak'wala in media. For Kwak'wala to remain a viable language, it must have books for the newly literate population to read. Kwak'wala in the media would give the language much needed prestige. Here again, the community plays the more important role, because it is the community who will both produce and consume the Kwak'wala media and books. Teachers and students schools can play a secondary role by producing media and literature in the school setting.

There remains the issue of large population, which, though essential for success of the project, is not addressed in the proposal. I must leave the joys of solving the problem of their small population to the Kwakwaka'wakw community. Rather than becoming discouraged because of the small number of speakers, the Kwakwaka'wakw can take comfort in the advantages of living in small communities—back-to-Kwak'wala advocates have the potential of being big fish in small ponds. A few dedicated people can make a big difference in reversing language shift to English in the small Kwakwaka'wakw communities.

Conclusion

Kwak'wala legends are full of references to surprise treasures, called "długwala". Bourdieu (1982:24-25) compares language to a treasure and people to store houses, each holding different amounts of the treasure. For several decades, the Kwakwaka'wakw have been in the process of losing the treasure of the Kwak'wala language. This proposal has outlined a method to refill the store houses with treasure, to refill the people with Kwak'wala.

CHAPTER IV

Initial Implementation and Reaction

My family and I moved to Alert Bay in January 1995 and we immediately became involved quite extensively with the Kwakwaka'wakw. I began pastoring the Pentecostal church and substitute teaching at the T'łisalagi'lakw School, my wife began working as a nurse, and my children began attending a local school and daycare. In the summer of 1995, I took a second language acquisition course at the University of North Dakota, and proceeded to use the method taught there to learn Kwak'wala myself.

In the summer of 1996, I began writing this thesis on how to reverse the shift away from Kwak'wala in Alert Bay. Beginning in the fall of 1996, some of the elements of the proposal to reverse the decline of Kwak'wala were implemented. The primary purpose of this chapter will be to outline how the community of Alert Bay responded to the proposal outlined in chapter III.

Family/Community

In an effort to implement Kwak'wala in the community, I spoke to several key people in Alert Bay about my ideas—the chief, the principal, and other leaders. I also expressed my thoughts to the Kwak'wala Steering Committee, a group with representation from all Kwakwaka'wakw communities. In a show of solidarity, these communities have given the Kwak'wala Steering Committee the responsibility for overseeing the task of reviving Kwak'wala.

I began the implementation process by making drafts of my thesis available to anyone who wanted one. At people's request, I also made a three page summary of my thesis and dropped off copies for the U'mista newsletter, the Musgamagw newspaper, and the T'łisalagi'lakw School newsletter. They were printed in the Musgamagw and the U'mista newsletters, and the Musgamagw and T'łisalagi'lakw newsletters have carried additional, shorter articles explaining my ideas. Many people have expressed interest in my thesis draft itself, but although I offered drafts of my thesis freely, there have been few takers, and I am only aware of one person who has read it.

The best method for spreading the ideas was oral. The community reacted supportively to them. Many villagers were enthusiastic and agreed wholeheartedly with what I said. There is the frequently expressed conception that without the language, the culture is dead, and they listened attentively as I point out the steps necessary to revive Kwak'wala. Many community members express a desire to learn Kwak'wala. Some say they used to be fluent as children but have lost it. These enjoy listening to Kwak'wala. Others were not fluent as children but gained fluency as adults—by spending time with elders.

Because I speak rudimentary Kwak'wala, I am a curiosity to the Kwakwaka'wakw. They seem to enjoy speaking Kwak'wala to me—especially in front of their younger family members who do not understand. On the whole, old and young alike express positive feelings for my learning Kwak'wala. People seem eager to teach me.

The chief of Alert Bay, one of the Kwak'wala speakers who learned the language later in life, did not seem overly interested in my ideas. He said they had unsuccessfully tried what I was proposing. He proposed instead that there be levels put in place in the school system so that after grade one, the children would know x many words, after grade two, x many, and so on—in short, an over-reliance on educational institutions.

Another community member—a non-Kwakwaka'wakw teacher, married to a Kwakwaka'wakw—was present at the meeting with the chief and was even more pessimistic. She said most of what I proposed had been tried without results. My new suggestions would not work, because the

people are too ashamed to try, or they have too many personal problems to overcome. She did suggest that I advertise Kwak'wala classes on the cable television, and see if there would be any takers.

My talk to the Kwak'wala Steering Committee generated some interest and questions. I also spoke to the Kwak'wala Scope and Sequence Subcommittee of the Kwak'wala Steering Committee. The reaction there was also quite positive, with the exception of one member. These meetings have opened doors to the greater Kwakwaka'wakw community outside of Alert Bay.

There are many family units in Alert Bay where only the older members speak Kwak'wala. I came into these homes and facilitated sessions in which the Kwak'wala speakers taught the rest of their family.

Most people in the school and in the community have been very positive about my ideas, including my philosophy and my teaching methods. One concept that is a little touchy is that of solidarity—particularly the issue of relationships and marriages outside of the tribe. My statement that mixed marriages do not bode well for Kwak'wala was greeted with approval by people who had married other Kwakwaka'wakw. People who had relationships with non-Kwakwaka'wakw, however, were either silent, or told me to "butt out."

An elder from Ft. Rupert asked me to write down some of my comments about the role of the media in reversing language shift. She had been on a Kwak'wala radio program that has since been taken off the air. She said that my comments would be published in 'Awakwis, a newspaper for the indigenous people of northern Vancouver Island.

With my encouragement, a woman spearheaded Kwak'wala services beginning in the fall of 1996 at the Pentecostal church in Alert Bay. They were initially fairly successful, with around a dozen people attending. In 1997, enthusiasm waned, and now the services continue in a modified format. Three or four of us now meet in one of two Kwak'wala speakers' homes. This case underscores the difficulties of promoting language for its own sake. It did not seem worthwhile to this Kwak'wala speaker to teach the language itself, but she was willing to teach the Word of God in Kwak'wala.

The young adults' reaction was revealing. A young carver said he had heard some youths talking among themselves, saying that if I could learn Kwak'wala, so could they. He was excited that they were challenged by me, an outsider to the community, speaking Kwak'wala. He felt this would motivate them to learn. Interestingly, he didn't express an interest in learning it himself. Another man said, "We want our kids to learn Kwak'wala, and if the way to do that is to learn it ourselves, then I guess that's what we'll have to do." The same young man told me he wanted to learn Kwak'wala after he finished his grade twelve. I met a couple of youths going to a Kwak'wala language conference in Victoria. I spoke to them in Kwak'wala, but they did not understand. They spoke enthusiastically about getting funding for Kwak'wala, even though they did not speak the language and were not taking steps to acquire it.

The teenagers of Alert Bay reacted in various ways. The common thread was that there was not the motivation required to learn Kwak'wala. I explained my method of language learning and played a Kwak'wala tape to some Kwakwaka'wakw youths in school. They showed little interest in the former, and positively disliked the latter. However, they did express a sense of solidarity and desire to learn Kwak'wala. One said, "We've been trying to learn Kwak'wala for years and here you show up and learn it in one year—it pisses us off!" Another youth, who was angry at me for kicking her out of class, told the principal I had no business speaking Kwak'wala, since I was not Indian. A third teen said, "I used to really not like you...used to think, 'Who does he think he is, speaking Kwak'wala?'" A different opinion was expressed by another teen, who said I should be their Kwak'wala teacher. However, this teen was not interested in participating in a Kwak'wala immersion camp.

Of the several families which expressed an interest in having me come to their homes, only two ever actually made appointments. In one family, a non-Kwak'wala speaking adult arranged only one appointment, then lost interest and canceled all the rest. I had several weekly sessions in the other home,

but they were always instigated by me, and to some extent by the Kwak'wala speaker, rather than the learner.

The motivation to learn Kwak'wala seems to be quite low at all age-groups. This may be due to the fact that there is not a compelling enough reason for the Kwakwaka'wakw to learn Kwak'wala.

Most community members expressed a desire to revive Kwak'wala but were not willing to do much about the matter personally, preferring instead to make it the responsibility of the schools. The low motivation at the family and community level is an alarming sign, because it is on this level that all successful language projects are based.

Education

Community interest resulted in my being hired by the T'łisalagi'lakw School in Alert Bay. In February 1997, I signed a three-month contract to develop curriculum and to promote Kwak'wala, particularly among the children. I feel I was given the job because of the proposal articulated in chapter III, but more importantly, because I have been the first person in decades to learn Kwak'wala.

I began teaching almost immediately, using a fluent Kwak'wala speaking teacher and a second language acquisition model taught by Anita Bickford at the University of North Dakota. This method is a hearing-driven language acquisition method based on ideas set forth in various manuscripts by Thomson (including "Developing a corpus of comprehensible text" and "A few simple ideas for new language learners") and in books by Krashen (*Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*). It emphasizes having sessions with fluent Kwak'wala speakers and guiding the speakers through the use of objects and pictures to slowly increase the students' knowledge of Kwak'wala. The method also requires the students to tape-record all the new vocabulary and sentences learned in each session, listen to it frequently, and write up the contents of the tape in journal form.

My first students were the children from grades one to seven who are taught Kwak'wala for half an hour per day. Soon after, I also started teaching Kwak'wala twice a week to the adults (mostly school staff). In an effort to create a sense of personal responsibility, I printed a line from a Maori hymn on the syllabus of the class, "Send a revival, start the work in me". After two months, I began co-teaching with a young Kwakwaka'wakw who had become familiar with the teaching method. My goal was to first familiarize as many Kwakwaka'wakw as possible with Kwak'wala, and second to promote Kwak'wala literacy—an essential component to any successful language project.

At the end of the adult class, all new vocabulary and phrases were taped three times in Kwak'wala and once in English. During my tenure at the school, this tape was played over the PA system twice a day (a total of about fifteen minutes).

Another initiative involved a young Kwakwaka'wakw, whom the school planned to hire as a Kwak'wala teacher. After he had become familiar with my method of language learning, he agreed to enter into a month-long contract with me in which he would have three Kwak'wala sessions a week and write them up in journal form for me to mark.

I also planned a Kwak'wala acquisition course at the University of North Dakota. Since I had learned Kwak'wala using a method taught by Anita Bickford at that university, I reasoned other Kwakwaka'wakw might be able to do the same. Some of the brightest Kwakwaka'wakw, the ones most interested in Kwak'wala revival (three 19/20-year-olds and one older Kwak'wala speaker), came with me to the University of North Dakota in the summer of 1997. The plan is for the young people to learn this method of language acquisition, practice it on the Kwak'wala speaker on campus, and then continue using the method to acquire more Kwak'wala and become increasingly literate when they return to British Columbia.

In Alert Bay my teaching method worked well and was initially received enthusiastically by the

students. After about two months, however, only about one quarter of the children remained interested in learning Kwak'wala. The rest disturbed the class to the point where little learning could continue.

Kwak'wala classes for the adults proceeded along the same lines. For the first month, there was a lot of excitement, with at least twenty adults showing up. All were very keen on learning Kwak'wala and expressed a desire to use it more and more in the school. The principal even announced that in the future salary raises would be tied to how well people had mastered Kwak'wala. However, the adults were very reluctant to speak or write in Kwak'wala. By the second month, people were expressing frustration and embarrassment because they felt ridiculed by the Kwak'wala helpers. By three months, interest had faded, and the class had dwindled down to four people. Everyone involved, including my Kwakwaka'wakw co-teacher and the Kwak'wala speaking resource people, expressed discouragement about the class.

But all was not in vain. The tapes of these classes, which were played over the PA system, brought some results. Some of the teachers and students complained, but others said they enjoyed it. The staff commented that the children were repeating the Kwak'wala phrases they heard over the PA system, and I have heard the same.

The young man who entered into a month-long Kwak'wala language learning contract ended up having only one session. None of the people I worked with seemed to have the motivation necessary to learn Kwak'wala.

The Kwak'wala language acquisition proposal at the University of North Dakota was greeted with enthusiasm. Two of the three young people turned down a trip to Holland to take the course. So far the Kwakwaka'wakw students are eagerly studying and are doing extremely well in the actual Kwak'wala acquisition part of the course. They appear to have adjusted comfortably to campus life as well. They have also expressed a desire to continue the Kwak'wala learning and literacy when they return to British Columbia. The plan is that we will form a group of Kwak'wala learners that meets regularly with Kwak'wala speakers.

One student signed up for an additional course in phonetics, because he said, "I wanted to learn my language first, then I want to travel and learn other languages." Although traveling and learning other languages does not help the cause of Kwak'wala revival, I encouraged this. However, he has since dropped phonetics, and is concentrating on learning his own language. He has also been writing and phoning home, speaking of the "awesome" Kwak'wala acquisition course at the University of North Dakota and of the importance of reviving Kwak'wala. He plans to take a semester off from college to study Kwak'wala full time when he returns to British Columbia. His goal is to be able to converse in Kwak'wala for the potlatch in the summer of 1998.

To support the Kwak'wala acquisition project at the University of North Dakota, the bands provided enough funds for transportation, room and board, and a few hundred dollars spending money. Some of the students protested that they have not received enough and talked about returning home unless they receive more money. Such comments call into question the commitment to learning Kwak'wala.

There are only a handful of people literate in Kwak'wala, yet there are already points of contention. One view expressed is that Kwak'wala is not being revived because there is a confusion between orthographies—U'mista's and the modified IPA.

I spoke with several people who attended three weeks of a so called "Kwak'wala immersion" which was held at Gambier Island the summer of 1996. The initiative was headed up by Daisy Sewid and the Kwak'wala Steering Committee. Some really enjoyed the program, and some were disappointed. One community member said, "It cost $5000 each for us to send them there and all they learned was -gn, -as, -ux" (first person, second person, third person). It was clear that there was very little Kwak'wala spoken; almost all the instruction was in English. The primary benefit of the Gambier Island experience may have been to foster a sense of solidarity between Kwakwaka'wakw from different bands. There is another immersion program planned for the summer of 1997, but the Nimpkish Band in Alert Bay will likely not

fund its members to attend.

One of my most faithful language resource people said she was not interested in learning how to teach Kwak'wala. She felt it was too difficult a task to compete with the English spoken in all the homes and on television. She suggested having a bit of Kwak'wala on video and felt it would be expedient to follow the model of programs like *Sesame Street* which have a bit of French. With this comment, she showed an almost instinctive realization of the importance media plays in any successful language project. Her younger relatives, seeing that she had been instrumental in my learning Kwak'wala, have since asked her to teach them the language as well.

More people have expressed interest in my method of learning Kwak'wala than interest in reading the proposal. Some of the youths have suggested it would be a good idea if I taught them. One elder suggested I teach Kwak'wala to the men's support group in Alert Bay. An employee of the U'mista videotaped a session I was having with one of my language resource people.

There has been a faction, led by an extended family which comprises the Cultural Committee, that has been very opposed to my getting the job of language coordinator. Two days after getting the language coordinator job, one of the Cultural Committee members told me she was very angry with me. She said white people had been telling them what to do for too long and that they knew what to do themselves. The same sentiment was expressed by a chief at a Kwak'wala Steering Committee meeting, who said that indigenous people knew how to teach their language without help from white people. These statements reflect a sense of Kwakwaka'wakw solidarity.

The most recurring criticism was that I was not spending enough time developing curriculum. Two of the members have teaching certificates and are very keen on developing immersion curriculum for grade one, despite the fact that there are no Kwak'wala speakers with teaching certificates. They expressed that the only way of "getting our kids to speak Kwak'wala" is to develop curriculum with scope and sequence. They also insisted that I create "grade one immersion scope and sequence curriculum"—something I did. The members of this family have also reacted against my wife, who was looking after a family member in her capacity of home care nurse. They have abused her verbally and kicked her out of the house. The most prominent member of this committee has written two strong letters—one to me, and one to the school board, protesting my being hired and undermining all my initiatives. Some of the things held against me include: I am white, and my being hired sends a message that indigenous people are second class; I am a pastor, and Christianity has been at the forefront in destroying Kwakwaka'wakw culture; and I will not continue to live in Alert Bay for the long term.

A staff member approached me to teach Kwak'wala to a youth group. However, the leader of the group, also on the Cultural Committee, turned this down, commenting that I was not Kwakwaka'wakw.

Several times I have been called upon to defend myself and my actions, and the jury is still out as to whether my contract will be renewed. These hostilities point to a problem with the implementation of the ideas in this thesis, namely that they are the ideas of an outsider. The Kwakwaka'wakw have not taken ownership of them.

It also exposes some rifts within the Kwakwaka'wakw mindset—some spoke in favor of the community-driven language revival efforts, while others wanted more of an education-driven effort. As long as there is conflict within the Kwakwaka'wakw as to how to go about reversing language shift, the hiring of an outsider will likely be only a flash point rather than an effective means of promoting revival.

The opposition encountered in implementing the ideas of this thesis clearly show how deep-rooted is the sentiment that the salvation of Kwak'wala is in the hands of the schools. Any initiative I planned that was not entirely academic was considered suspect by many and fought by some. Even though I frequently stated that the emphasis should be on families and community, most of my efforts at language revitalization were channeled away from the community, and into the school. As long as this philosophy remains, the prospects for reversing the shift toward English are dim.

Capstone Program

One Kwak'wala event which could be considered a success was a six-day trip to the remote head of Knight Inlet, about a nine-hour boat ride from Alert Bay. Sixteen of us ended up going, including two families—almost exactly the number I had hoped for. Although the proposal for 100% Kwak'wala immersion did not go according to plan, we did study Kwak'wala intensively for four days, and there was a lot of progress in learning to understand and write the language. While at Knight Inlet, we lived in a eulachon fish camp with about one hundred other Kwakwaka'wakw and were able to observe traditional fishing, hear Kwak'wala legends (in English), play traditional games, and learn how the Kwakwaka'wakw used certain plants.

The idea to have a language immersion camp at Knight Inlet generated a lot of excitement and suggestions. We were asked to put notices in the U'mista newsletter and on cable television, informing the community about the upcoming trip. Other suggestions included holding a bingo to raise money and going door to door asking for donations. There were many people who gave us advice on how to prepare for the trip, and they lent us cabins, supplies, and donated food.

On the whole, the trip to Knight Inlet was a successful experience in language and culture immersion. All participants were enthusiastic and enjoyed themselves. Most comments were positive, although one student commented, "We didn't learn nothing." Most of the positive comments had less to do with learning Kwak'wala and more to do with being Indian and doing something traditional—in other words, solidarity. This experience shows again how language is seldom learned for its own sake. Language shift must be part of a greater societal movement. The Knight Inlet trip could be considered a mini-societal movement. Sixteen Kwakwaka'wakw moved back to the land for one week, and Kwak'wala was part of the movement.

The Cultural Committee stirred up a lot of opposition to the Knight Inlet trip. They, as well as other community members, thought it was not a good idea. I was made to jump through many hoops and get permission from many people, and was given many discouraging messages. The message on cable television was a sticking point, because we had not asked all the right chiefs for permission.

But the trip went ahead successfully, and many community members are saying we should repeat it. One reason the Knight Inlet experience was so successful was that it was an integration of education and family/community. The cost was shared equally between the T'łisalagi'lakw School and the community members who attended. There were two families involved, which made up the majority of the attendees. Yet there were also scheduled classes which everyone attended. The Knight Inlet trip was an example of what can be accomplished if the community and educational institution work together.

The Kwakwaka'wakw seem to be reluctant to commit to a long-term language project. Thus, another reason the Knight Inlet experience was perceived as successful was because it was a short term initiative—it lasted less than a week.

Perhaps a camp like this one represents the best hope for Kwak'wala revival. Since this initiative received so much community support, maybe more camps, and more frequent camps, could be organized. Already there is talk of planning another such trip to Village Island in September 1997. Perhaps trips like these could become regular events, being scheduled more and more frequently, and lasting longer and longer. Frequently scheduled Kwak'wala camps have the potential to give birth to Kwak'wala-speaking communities—the goal of every successful language project.

The Future: A Sober Assessment

If matters continue as they are now, the future of Kwak'wala is very dubious. To predict how long Kwak'wala will last, one need only calculate the remaining life span of the youngest Kwak'wala speakers—a few decades, at the most. Kwak'wala will not go the way of Hebrew, which died as a spoken language but remained in use as a literary language. Since Kwak'wala has only an oral tradition, not a

written one, it will pass out of all use whatsoever.

The family/community support which is crucial for language revival is almost completely lacking in the Kwakwaka'wakw communities. The communities seem willing to give all the responsibility for the perpetuation of Kwak'wala to the schools and then blame the teachers for the lack of success in reviving the language. The attempts to implement this thesis bear out this fact. Efforts to bring Kwak'wala into the school met with some success, while efforts to bring Kwak'wala into the community met with relatively little.

Unless the Kwakwaka'wakw are willing to radically change the way they approach Kwak'wala, unless they are willing to spend the time and effort required to learn and promote Kwak'wala, it will die completely in a few decades. At the moment, there does not seem to be enough motivation at the community level to do what needs to be done to revive the language.

However, there is still a window of opportunity in which to revive the language. There are still older speakers who are actively integrated into the community. There are young people of child-bearing age who are learning to speak Kwak'wala at the University of North Dakota. If these young people meet with Kwak'wala speakers regularly, and expend the necessary time and effort, they will learn Kwak'wala. If they then go on to raise their children only in Kwak'wala, the life span of Kwak'wala will have been extended an entire generation.

This thesis was written in the hope that some Kwakwaka'wakw would realize the gravity of the situation of Kwak'wala, and that this would spur them on to take the appropriate action that has been proposed.

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APPENDIX

MAP OF KWAKWAKA'WAKW SETTLEMENTS

BEST COPY AVAILABLE